o. 30 ● AUGUST 4, 1986 A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS ISSN 0206—1473

NEW TIMES

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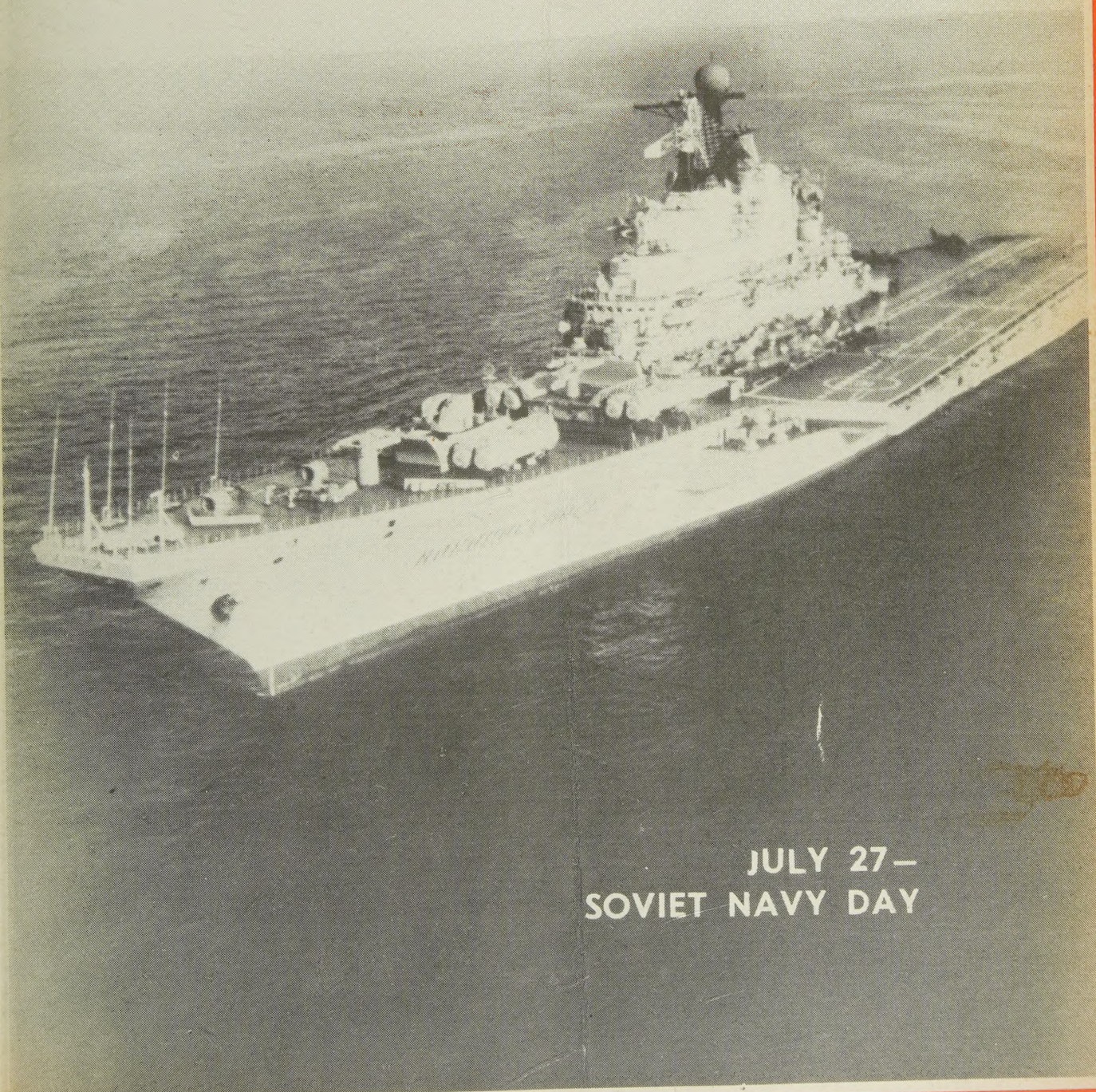


JULY 27—
SOVIET NAVY DAY

Well versed as he was in the mathematics of class confrontation, Lenin knew that amongst the enemies of Soviet Russia there were forces whose stance could be used to frustrate the efforts by imperialist powers to put together an anti-Soviet diplomatic front, namely the rival monopoly groupings in the capitalist world, rent by economic antagonism. He also took into account the pacifism of a number of Western leaders and their awareness that there was no future in rabid anti-Sovietism.

As early as the close of 1921 Lenin observed: "We fully anticipate a peaceful attitude . . . .also on the part of a huge section of the reasonable bourgeoisie and the governments." Several months later, when directing preparations for the Genoa Conference, he instructed the Soviet delegation to seek contact "with those people from the bourgeois camp... who are inclined towards pacifism...." The tactics he proposed were to bring these people into confrontation with those inclined to seek military solutions and thus compound "the enemy's disintegration," tactics that he believed would win out "even if Genoa was unsuccesstul."

Subsequent events have shown Lenin's perspicacity. Having realized that they would not be able to dictate to the Soviet Union, Britain and France and their allies intended to torpedo the conference. Then a Soviet-German treaty was signed in Rapallo on April 16, 1922, on the Russian delegation's initiative. Under the treaty Germany abandoned claims to be compensated for the nationalization of the foreign property in the Russian Federation. The most important factor, however, was that by re-establishing diplomatic and economic relations between the two states, the Rapallo Treaty signified Germany's de jure recognition of the Soviet republic.

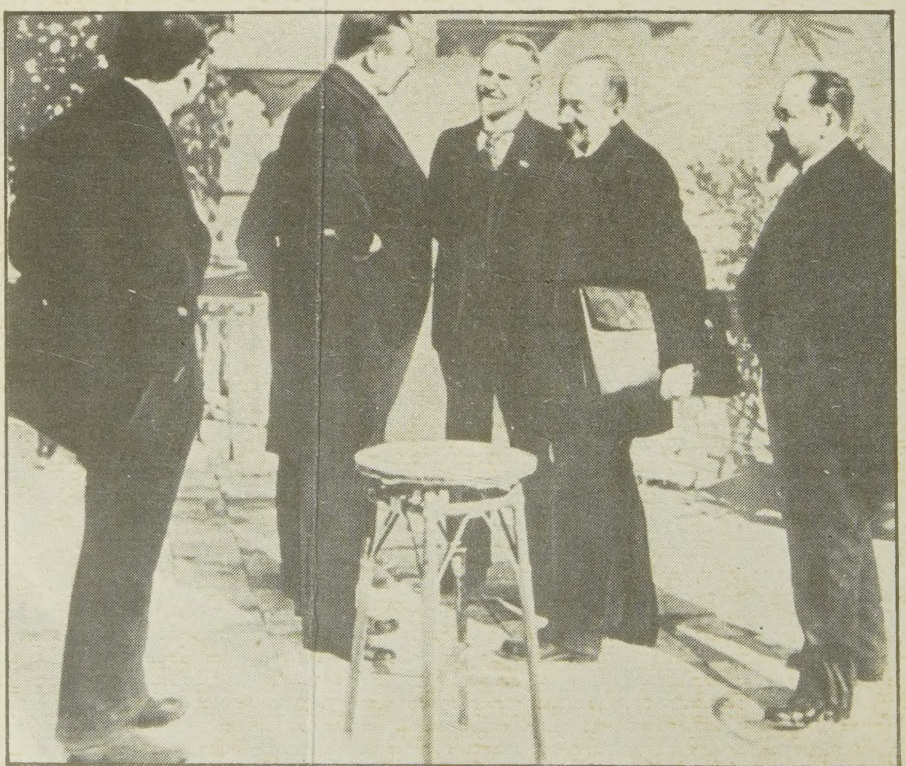
The thunder in Rapallo evoked strong echoes in Western foreign policy departments. Bourgeois papers talked of the "breakup of the European bloc" and a "great victory for Soviet diplomacy." That was indeed so. One member of the Soviet delegation had every reason to say that "this pen and this ink are historic as they were used to sign the first agreement with a major Western power and will be part of the history of our diplomacy."

The Treaty of Rapallo was a forerunner of the avalanche that smashed the cordon sanitaire with which the West had ringed the Soviet republic. It ushered in a spate of diplomatic recognitions. In 1924 alone ambassadors from Britain, Italy, Austria, Greece, Norway, Sweden, China, Denmark, Mexico and France presented their credentials at the Kremlin. Thus the foundation stones of the Soviet foreign policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems were laid.

"Diplomatic friction in Chicherin's reception room."

Cartoon by Boris Efimov, 1924.

(Right to left) Adolf Ioffe, Georghy Chicherin and Leonid Krasin of the Soviet delegation conversing in Genoa with German Chancellor Karl Josef Wirth, who favoured signing the Treaty of Rapallo.



For earlier instalments of our brief review of the history of anti-war ideas and the struggle for peace see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24 and 28

OUR CONCEPT OF SECURITY

Security is an imperative of our day and age. New political thinking must get the better of any disputes and ideological differences, for the sake of life on earth and the further progress of civilization.

These are just high-flown words, you may object. Everyone agrees with them, but the world situation is no better for it. Indeed, there are as yet no signs of tension easing up, but positive changes are in the offing and it is especially gratifying that Europe has taken the lead in promising them. The foundation of détente and cooperation, laid by the Old World jointly with the U.S. and Canada in the seventies, was badly damaged in the eighties -- but it held. It can and must remain the groundwork upon which to build the edifice of European and global security.

This was the subject of Eduard Shevardnadze's recent talks in London. When explaining our country's stand to his hosts, the Soviet Foreign Minister reminded them that at the 27th Congress Mikhail Gorbachev put forward an entirely new concept of comprehensive security -- a concept based on new political thinking in terms of which confidence and peaceful coexistence are the fundamental principles of international relations. Today it is necessary to make this concept a reality.

We do not merely come out in favour of new thinking: nearly a year ago the U.S.S.R. unilaterally suspended nuclear tests. Professor Frank von Hippel of the U.S. (whose article appears in this issue) and his colleagues -- scientists from over 30 countries who took part in the Moscow International Forum of Scientists on Nuclear Test Ban -- are of the opinion that the silence on Soviet proving grounds is the most convincing evidence of new political thinking becoming a reality in the U.S.S.R. They called upon the U.S. to follow suit. The U.S. responded with a nuclear blast in Nevada -- its 14th since the Soviet moratorium took effect. Old thinking is tenacious of life.

Yet, our country's call for a new way of thinking is being sympathetically received by increasing numbers of politicians and scientists and ever broader sections of the public in the West. Today in Paris, London, Bonn and other European capitals one hears talk of the interdependence of all parts of the modern world, and the need to discard outworn stereotypes. This reaction to the thesis put forward by our Party Congress has shown that many Western politicians think along the same lines, and this is good. We must have points of contact if we are to pass from words to actions. After all, our objective is to build up a reliable security system for all nations in all fields -- political, military, economic and humanitarian.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

I always look forward to Studio Nine TV programmes. The latest programme presented prominent West European politicians—Egon Bahr, a member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Britain, as well as Academician Georgi Arbatov and Valentin Falin, Chairman of the Board of Novosti Press Agency. I should like your magazine to make the programme available to a wider audience, to your readers in other countries.

A. UFIMTSEV
Moscow Region, U.S.S.R.

From the Editors: In compliance with many requests from both Soviet and foreign readers we offer, in this issue, a transcript of the Studio Nine programme which went on the air on July 15, 1986.

To live together—or die! The answer to this question now largely depends on the Administration in Washington. But, with the ball now in its court, Washington has decided on scrapping the SALT-2 Treaty, is going ahead with its "star shield" programme and planning to deploy binary chemical weapons in Europe. This is Washington's response to the constructive proposals of the U.S.S.R.

Enzo BANCALE
Solaro, Italy

Current developments in southern Africa are a vivid manifestation of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. They amount to attempts to "neocolonize" African countries, create a climate of mistrust and instability in relations between the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and undermine their relations with socialist states. All this calls for unity on the part of us Africans. We must strengthen our links with the socialist world.

Joaquim CEBA
Saurimo, Angola

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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COVER: The cruiser Novorossiisk.

Novosti Press Agency photo

WILL THE NOOSE BE LOOSENED?

This question haunts the politicians of the ASEAN member countries. It was at the focus of attention at the 18th annual conference of the organization in Manila. The traditional dialogues of the ASEAN member states with representatives from the U.S., Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the EEC also centred on it.

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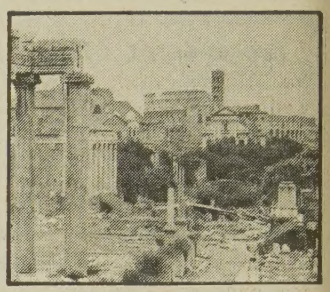

PROTRACTED CABINET CRISIS

The government crisis in Italy is in its fourth week. Why is it taking the leaders of five parties—former partners in the ruling coalition—so long to agree on the composition of a new government, the 45th over the postwar period?

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TV DEBATE ON CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

European détente, Soviet-American relations and other topical problems were recently discussed in the popular Soviet national TV programme, Studio Nine. The programme's regular compère is Valentin ZORIN, a political observer with Soviet radio and television. His guests this time were Academician Georgi Arbatov, director of the U.S. and Canada Studies Institute under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Egon Bahr, a member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, David Owen, the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Britain and ex-Foreign Secretary, and Valentin Falin, Chairman of the Board, Novosti Press Agency.

In this issue we carry a transcript of the programme.

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New Thinking vs. Old Thinking

Professor FRANK von HIPPEL, Princeton University, U.S.A.

In both the U.S. and the Soviet Union the debate over nuclear weapons policy is a struggle between the old way of thinking about military power and a not-yet-completely-formed new way of thinking.

The old way of thinking evolved over many thousands of years, as our ancestors learned over and over again the dangers of military weakness and inferior weapons technology.

Russia learned this very well as a result of being repeatedly invaded from different directions and surviving and triumphing after enormous losses.

The United States has not had Russia's history of invasions but learned the importance of pursuing new weapons technologies during its Civil War and during the two world wars. And, perhaps, we learned the wrong lesson when we were the nation that first learned how to make nuclear explosives and used them.

Nuclear weapons can be used to threaten a non-nuclear country but an industrialized country that is so threatened will quickly obtain nuclear weapons for itself. This is what the Soviet Union did and then a number of other countries did as well.

The Soviet Union and the United States each have about ten thousand strategic nuclear warheads—any one of which is capable of destroying Washington or Moscow. We are irretrievably at each other's mercy until we succeed in negotiating our way out of this mutual hostage relationship.

Today ideas that either the U.S. or the Soviet Union can achieve nuclear superiority over the other are the stuff of paranoia and fantasy. At least that is the new way of thinking which is struggling for control with the old way of thinking in both of our countries.

The new thinking recognizes: now that both countries have large numbers of nuclear weapons, we are each other's mutual hostages and we must learn to live together if we are not to die together.

This article is based on the talk given by the author at the international forum of scientists on a nuclear test ban.

Thus far, the most dramatic triumph of this new sort of thinking is the 1972 treaty limiting defences against nuclear weapons to an insignificant level [the ABM treaty—**Ed.**]. U.S. and Soviet scientists played a key role in convincing their political leaders that such defences would be both useless and provocative, and many scientists in both countries are working hard today to defend this treaty against a resurgence of the old way of thinking. It was clear back in the early 1970s that, if either country went ahead with anti-ballistic missile systems, both would. Therefore, it was necessary for the new way of thinking, in its application to nuclear defence, to be accepted by both governments simultaneously—something that was very difficult to arrange.

We could make much more progress, if either government became confident enough in the new way of thinking to unilaterally abstain from major aspects of the arms race until the other side realized that it was simply wasting its resources and talent by continuing on alone and would stop also. This is in fact what the Soviet Union has been doing for a year now with its unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons testing.

I know that it has not been easy for the Soviet government to exercise this restraint. When I came in Moscow last April as the technical advisor to a delegation from Parliamentarians Global Action, I heard over and over again that the Soviet Union had to start testing again or the United States would gain significant military advantages.

This was the old thinking speaking and fortunately it did not triumph. Apparently, others were telling the Soviet leaders that greater security for the Soviet Union is to be found not in better nuclear weapons but in an end to the arms race.

Of course, the same debate has been going on in the United States. There are not any strong spokesmen of the new way of thinking in the current Administration but the nuclear weapons freeze movement shows that the new way of thinking has great appeal for the public.

It also has great appeal in the U.S. Congress, which finds itself torn between fear of the political power of the old way of thinking and fear of the dangers of following it too far. Many in Congress are therefore uncomfortable that the Administration has not responded to the Soviet moratorium.

Congress prefers to leave foreign policy to the President but occasionally, when the President has persisted in activities that are widely believed not to be in the national interest, Congress will intervene by cutting off funding for these activities.

Congress has already passed resolutions requesting the President to reopen negotiations with the Soviet Union on a comprehensive test ban. The President has ignored these resolutions. Now Congress is considering stronger action.

At the end of July, the U.S. House of Representatives will have its first vote on a proposal to cut off the funding for U.S. nuclear weapons testing if the Soviet Union continues its moratorium.

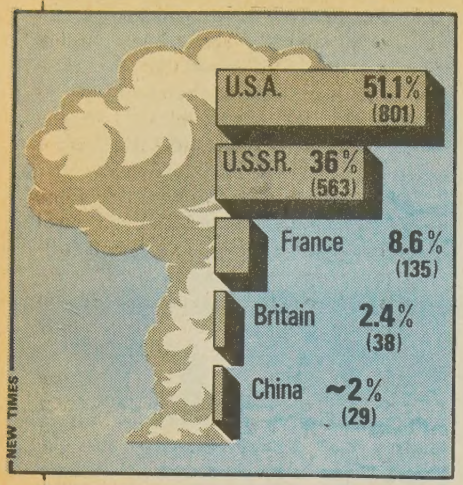
I cannot promise that Congress will

The security of mankind, as well as the immediate security of both the Soviet Union and the United States, would be considerably strengthened if a total ban on nuclear tests were enforced.

From the declaration adopted by the international forum of scientists on a nuclear test ban

We are assisting and shall continue to assist Soviet and American scientists in their efforts to put into effect their initiative with the use of special equipment for test ban verification.

M. S. GORBACHEV



Nevada Again

Walls shook in Las Vegas on July 18 to tell the Americans that another underground nuclear blast had been carried out in the Nevada proving ground — the seventh since early this year and the 14th since the Soviet moratorium took effect. A 150-kiloton nuclear device was set off as part of a programme for the development of third-generation nuclear weapons to be used in "star wars." The blast was followed by repercussions throughout the world.

Washington cynically and arrogantly turns a deaf ear to appeals, including those by its allies, to follow the Soviet Union's example, stop nuclear testing, and end the reckless arms race. It is impossible to reason with the opinionated White House which doggedly reiterates that the Russians are ahead in the number of nuclear tests.

Well, the diagram we reproduce here is based on the Swedish Defence Institute's statistics for January 1, 1986. It shows only too well which of the nuclear powers is in the lead in the number of nuclear tests carried out over the past four decades. The U.S. accounts for more than half of them and is not going to stop at that.

The U.S. always likes to be first in all fields, the arms race — on earth, and now in space — included. So the roar of explosions in Nevada's test silos continues. Every new blast will, of course, confirm America's lead in the number of tests. But it looks as if it has forgotten that in the race it has started there will be no winners.

cut off funding for U.S. nuclear testing but I do want you to understand that the new way of thinking has real political strength in the U.S.—even at a time when old thinkers control the government. It is also important to understand that the new way of thinking has been strengthened in the U.S. by the Soviet unilateral testing moratorium.

Verifiability

In the debate in the U.S. over a comprehensive test ban, the issue of verification has played a major role from the very beginning. There has always been the concern in the U.S. that the Soviet Union might be able to hide a programme of continued nuclear weapons development while we froze our nuclear weapons technology.

The very first international meeting on a comprehensive test ban was the 1958 conference of experts to study the possibility of detecting violations of a possible agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests. The experts concluded that, with a system of 160-170 control posts distributed around the world, there was a good probability of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions in the oceans and in the atmosphere down to one kiloton yield.

In the case of underground explosions, the problem of earthquakes made things more difficult, and the experts concluded that there might be 20 to 100 earthquakes a year around the world that could not be distinguished from underground explosions of 5 kilotons yield or higher and for which on-site inspections might be required.

There had only been one underground U.S. nuclear test at this time, however, and as more data came in, it appeared to U.S. experts that the methods suggested by the conference of experts for distinguishing underground explosions from earthquakes were not as good as had been thought at first. The system that had been designed by the conference of experts had only at 20 kilotons the capabilities that had been hoped for at 5 kilotons.

In view of these complications President Eisenhower proposed in 1960 a treaty banning testing only in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, and underground tests with a seismic magnitude of 4.75. This would correspond to a test yield of about 20 kilotons.

The U.S. estimated, however, that even with this high threshold there would be perhaps 100 seismic events in the Soviet Union each year and that the U.S. would therefore wish to make about 20 inspections a year at the locations of unidentified events with seismic magnitudes over 4.75.

The Soviet Union responded by, in effect, insisting on a comprehensive test ban and by offering three inspections a year for suspicious events—both above and below seismic magnitude 4.75.

This disagreement was, however, merely one of a whole array of disagreements about verification. The U.S. was concerned that arrangements proposed by the U.S.S.R. would make it possible for it to prevent the identification of any violation, and the Soviet Union was convinced that the U.S. was trying to use in-country control stations and on-site inspections for espionage.

This gap could not be closed and ultimately, in 1963, the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States settled for a partial test ban treaty that can be verified by national technical means alone.

Of course, underground tests above a certain magnitude could also be detected by national technical means and, in 1974, the threshold test ban treaty was signed. However, the threshold was set at 150 kilotons.

Then, during the Carter Administration, serious negotiations on a comprehensive test ban were resumed and agreement was achieved on the outlines of a verification system including 10 unmanned seismic stations on the territory of each party, provisions for on-site challenge inspections, and a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions.

Under the Reagan Administration, the principal concern with verification has been that the Soviet Union has been violating the threshold test ban treaty.

A number of independent U.S. seismologists have concluded that the belief that the Soviet Union is violating the threshold test ban is due to the incorrect calibration of body waves from the Semipalatinsk site, and the largest tests there since the treaty came into force in 1976 are, in fact, approximately at 150 kilotons.

The most recent development in the verification area is occurring right now as a result of an agreement between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and a private U.S. group, the Natural Resources Defence Council. These two groups are cooperating in setting up seismic stations next to the Semipalatinsk and Nevada test sites. One purpose is to demonstrate cooperative in-country monitoring. This initiative is likely to be seen as an impressive demonstration of the new Soviet willingness to be responsive to U.S. concerns about verification.

The science related to the detection and identification of underground nuclear tests has not stood still either. Perhaps the most exciting developments have been in high-frequency seismology—rather than low frequency traditionally used by seismologists in their studies of earthquakes.

Explosions put more energy out in

high frequency vibrations than do earthquakes of comparable magnitudes. As a result, as you tune to higher frequencies, the signals of explosions become more visible in the data.

Quotas and Lower Thresholds

Thus, in 1963 we banned testing everywhere but underground, and in 1974 we banned testing above 150 kilotons. The question now is whether we can complete the job in one further step or whether further intermediate stages are required?

Some people favour a quota test ban which might limit the U.S. and Soviet Union to perhaps 2 tests each per year. This would answer the concerns of those in the U.S. who worry that some undetected defect might render a large fraction of the U.S. nuclear stockpile unuseable. This may not seem a serious argument but recall that it was enough to raise a serious question in President Carter's mind as to whether he could get the U.S. Senate to approve a comprehensive test ban. With two tests a year, we could see that our weapons had not turned into cheese but we could not have a vigorous programme to develop third-generation weapons.

The idea of having a lower threshold is related in part to concerns about verifiability. There seems to be agreement between both CTB advocates and opponents in the U.S. that tests with yields greater than 10 kilotons could be detected without in-country seismic stations. Below that, the agreement breaks down. As I have already mentioned, experts have concluded that 25 well-sited in-country stations equipped with high-frequency seismometers could detect and identify fully decoupled underground nuclear explosions down to one kiloton. Spokesmen for the U.S. weapons labs have not yet accepted the conclusions of this analysis.

* * *

The decision by the Soviet leadership to undertake its unilateral testing moratorium represents an enormously important triumph of the new thinking over the old. I hope that this decision is thought over here as a triumph and not as failure just because the Reagan Administration has not responded in kind. If the Soviet leadership has the self-confidence to continue to trust the new thinking, then I think that, years from now, this unilateral moratorium may be seen as a first step towards a more hopeful nuclear future.

The verifiability of an arms control proposal is enormously important in the U.S. debate. The doves will tend to be relatively relaxed about verifiability because they believe that the U.S.-Soviet mutual hostage relationship is very stable and they think that any violation will be detected long before it becomes significant militarily.

On the other end of the spectrum, those who think that any arms control agreement that the Soviet Union is willing to accept must be against U.S. interests can be depended upon to set verification requirements impossibly high.

However, enough doubts can be raised in those in the middle—and they will swing the political balance one way or another—that their requirements for verifiability will also be high. This important middle group is not very tolerant of Soviet secrecy and will need to be impressed that the Soviet Union is being cooperative in providing the U.S. with any necessary information proving that the Soviet Union is in compliance with any agreement.

This is why the agreement between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Natural Resources Defence Council on the installation of U.S. seismic equipment near Semipalatinsk is so hopeful. It paves the way to the solution of the nuclear test ban problem. ■

Professor MIKHAIL GOKHBERG, D. Sc. (Phys.-Math.), Deputy Director of the Otto Schmidt Earth Physics Institute under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, tells our correspondent Evgeny Andrianov about a Soviet-American experiment for which he is responsible on the Soviet side.

We Want to Listen In to Silence

The chief purpose of the experiment is to prove to doubting Thomases that the modern technical facilities the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. possess make possible effective control over the observance of the nuclear test moratorium. We would like to listen in to silence but, alas, our American colleagues registered an underground blast in Nevada. And mind you, the only monitor they used was the one in Karkaralinsk. There are hundreds of such monitors across the world, and the U.S.A. has dozens of them along our border.

The experiment consists in the following. In the first phase, American scientists instal their equipment at three points, near basement rock outcrops which are ideal conductors of seismic vibrations.

The monitors are arranged in a circle on the perimeter of the Soviet proving grounds so that they can register and measure natural and extraneous noises. Corrections for natural noises—which differ from region to region—will increase the accuracy of national verification facilities and their sensitivity to even very low-yield blasts.

Subsequently, still more sensitive verification equipment will be installed, for longer periods, in special holes about 100 metres deep. These are to be drilled by early November so that our American colleagues can put their equipment in the next time they come over.

In turn, our group has been invited to Nevada to instal Soviet measuring equipment there. On the Soviet side, the programme will be supervised by Academician Evgeny Velikhov, Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, and Academician Mikhail Sadovsky, director of our institute; and on the American side—by Dr Thomas Cochran, Dr Charles Archenbow and Dr James Brune.

A joint Soviet-American group has been formed to process incoming research data using equipment belonging to our institute and the American research centres taking part in the experiment.

May I remind you that at the Moscow forum of scientists for ending nuclear tests many speakers called on politicians to take their cue from scientists in finding a common language and reaching agreements on the most complex issues of today. In this experiment, for instance, our American colleagues and ourselves are working together in the spirit of understanding and cooperation. Judge for yourself. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council reached agreement on conducting the experiment on May 28 in Moscow. The American scientists flew over on July 4, and a scientific discussion of the experiment was held a day later. The first monitoring station was set up within a week of that, and the second station yielded its first research data on July 21.

Such rapid progress would have been unthinkable, of course, without the support we get from the Soviet government which has provided every condition for the success of this Soviet-American effort.

On Guard of the Homeland

VLADIMIR CHERNAVIN
Admiral of the Fleet, Commander-in-Chief,
Soviet Navy

The Soviet Union is a great sea power. The U.S.S.R.'s coastline is almost as long as the equator. On guard to defend the peaceful life of their Homeland, Soviet sailors keep vigilant watch in the expanses of the World Ocean.

This year the officers and men of the Soviet Navy celebrate their annual holiday (which has become a national holiday for all Soviet people) in the context of the political and labour enthusiasm inspired by the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

We are rightly proud of the glorious record of the Russian Navy, which celebrates its 290th-anniversary this year. Its victories at Hango, Cesme, Navarino and Sinop, the valour and staunchness of Russian sailors in defence of Sevastopol and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky, the immortal feats of the brig Merkury, the cruiser Varyag, the gunboat Koreyets, the torpedo boat Steregushchy and many other ships whose crews fought heroically against a numerically superior enemy at sea will never fade in the grateful memory of the people.

But we particularly cherish our navy's revolutionary traditions. Many Russian sailors were progressives. They were upholders of advanced, democratic ideas. Sailors in the Russian Navy revolted against the tsarist autocracy in Kronstadt, Sevastopol, Vladivostok and Baku. Wearing cartridge belts slung over their shoulders, sailors of the Baltic Fleet were in the first ranks of those who took part in the assault on the Winter Palace. The cruiser Aurora is rightly regarded as a symbol of the triumphant October Socialist Revolution. During the Civil War in the early years of Soviet power sailors heroically fought the enemy in the Baltic, Caspian, Black and White seas and the Sea of Azov. They also fought on land in Red Army units.

In 1921, acting on a proposal from Lenin the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) passed a special resolution on the reconditioning of existing warships and the construction of new ones for the navy "depending on the Soviet Republic's

general situation and the available material resources, and on the recruitment of personnel devoted to the revolution for them." Before the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) the Soviet Baltic, Northern, Pacific and Black Sea fleets and four separate forces were engaged in vigorous combat training. They comprised three battleship, seven light cruisers, 54 destroyers and flotilla leaders, 22 patrol ships, 80 minesweepers, 287 motor torpedo boats, 212 submarines, a naval air arm of some 2,800 aircraft and 260 coastal artillery batteries. Together they formed an impressive force.

Nazi Germany's perfidious attack on the U.S.S.R. did not take the Soviet Navy unawares. Though the Luftwaffe bombed many of our naval bases, our navy did not lose a single warship or aircraft as a result of the first raids. The officers and men of the Baltic, Black Sea and Northern fleets countered the enemy's treacherous attack with fighting skill, stamina and heroism. It was no wonder that as early as August 1941 pilots of the naval air arm bombed Berlin.

During the second world war, our naval forces defended naval bases and separate coastal sectors, sent landing parties, and assisted fronts and armies near the coast in the execution of offensive and defensive operations. Close to half a million deck officers, NCOs and men fought successfully on the land fronts. In the theatres of naval operations the enemy constantly felt the painful blows delivered by our submarines, surface ships and naval air arm. The naval forces sank 1,300 enemy transport vessels with an overall deadweight of over 3 million tons. This means that dozens of enemy divisions, thousands of tanks, artillery pieces and aircraft failed to reach the battlefront and could not be committed to action when the enemy needed them most.

Here is a case in point. In January 1945 the submarine S-13 under Alexander Marinesko intercepted and sank the nazi battleship Wilhelm Gustloff. The Wehrmacht lost 7,000 officers and men, including 4,000 trained submarine officers and ratings for 70 U-boats.

After the second world war, aggressive imperialist circles headed by the U.S. ignored its lessons. At first they secretly and then overtly started to hatch new plans for war against the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. Our country was rapidly being surrounded by a network of military bases. The imperialists were hammering together one aggressive military bloc after another.

Today the U.S. is spending hundreds of billions of dollars on the arms race and this includes naval hardware. The U.S. Navy is being expanded along two lines: the buildup of strategic nuclear-missile systems and of general-purpose forces. The World Ocean has been turned into a base from which to prepare for an aggressive war against the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

To counter imperialist intrigues, in the mid-1950s the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government passed a decision on the construction of a powerful ocean-going fleet armed with nuclear missiles. Scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and workers—in fact the whole of the Soviet people—contributed to its creation. Within a brief space of time Soviet sailors were equipped with hardware and weaponry enabling them to accomplish major operational and strategic missions and oppose aggression from the oceans.

To ensure the country's security against a surprise attack today the Soviet government has been compelled to take effective measures. Washington cannot afford to ignore the grave consequences of the retaliatory blows that will be struck from the oceans should the aggressor venture to unleash a nuclear war.

The main strike force of the Soviet Navy are atom-powered submarines and aircraft carrying long-range missiles. These naval weapons are characterized by tremendous destructive power, high mobility and capability for warfare on a global scale.

Surface ships have changed beyond recognition. We now have aircraft carrying cruisers of the Kiev class and nuclear-powered cruisers of the Kirov class. The air arm, which is part of the navy, can help secure victory in practically any major operation. Its purpose is to hit surface, submarine and air targets and also to conduct long-range reconnaissance at sea. All modern weaponry is manned by excellently trained personnel, including the Marines.

Today the worthy successors to the combat glory of older generations of Soviet sailors keep watch on the high seas. They are living up to their duty in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, as well as in the Arctic. They navigate along difficult, often unexplored routes and are training to secure victory in the most complicated operational and tactical situations, and to wage radio electronic and all other modern ways of warfare.

Commanders, political organs, staffs and Party organizations are concentrating sailors' efforts on raising the level of combat readiness, the proficiency and quality of all combat training, as well as on complete mastery of modern weaponry and other fighting equipment. This is a continuous process inasmuch as the sophistication of warfare calls for constant perfection of combat training.

The Soviet Navy has been constantly extending its contacts with the fraternal navies and armies of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. The Allied fleets are becoming more experienced in combat training and political education. In the course of combined exercises and manoeuvres coordination of action between ships, and the fighting skill of the crews are being improved. As brothers-in-arms, the servicemen of the socialist countries have been cementing their friendship.

On Soviet Navy Day many of the crews are far from their home shores. They are carrying out an important internationalist mission and doing their patriotic duty. People all over the world know that Soviet warships ply the seas to curb the imperialists and frustrate their hegemonic, predatory ambitions, and not to launch aggression, build up tension or exert military pressure on other peoples. Proudly flying the Soviet state flag at sea and in the oceans, Soviet warships demonstrate their readiness to safeguard their Homeland. ■

The Potential and Prospects

"On the whole, we are pleased with the results of our talks," Eduard Shevardnadze said at his London press conference. In turn, Sir Geoffrey Howe, as the London Times observed, said that he was highly pleased with the talks and thought the visit had been extremely useful.

Indeed, for the first time in ten years the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. signed three major agreements at once. These concern economic and industrial cooperation for the five years ahead, the settlement of financial and property claims made prior to 1939, and the prevention of maritime incidents, the last being particularly important, because it deals with military matters.

Indisputably, the significance of that part of the negotiations not recorded in agreements is great. After all, various aspects of restraining the arms race were discussed. In this connection the Soviet Foreign Minister noted Britain's realistic and sensible approach. London has largely subscribed to the Soviet stand. It advocates observance of the operative Soviet-American SALT-1, SALT-2 and ABM accords, as well as progress at the Geneva nuclear and space weaponry talks, and wants the new Soviet-U.S. summit to produce essential practical results.

Understanding was also reached with regard to the possibility of jointly elaborating such issues as a chemical weapons ban and cutbacks in armed forces and armaments in Europe. Both sides stressed the importance of bringing the Stockholm conference to a successful conclusion and making due and proper preparations for the Vienna meeting of the states that took part in the all-European conference.

Nothing Happens Overnight

In short, there is, evidently, every ground to note a positive change in Anglo-Soviet relations which up to now could hardly be considered balanced or cloudless. Many commentators in London said they had not expected such substantial results from the talks.

We are not to blame for the almost ten-year intervals that have regrettably become the norm in high-level Anglo-Soviet contacts. A breakthrough occurred in December 1984, when a Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachev visited the U.K. The political scale of the visit, the character of the exchange of opinions immediately attracted notice from the British and world public.

In talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, members of her cabinet, MPs and the leaders of the political parties, the Soviet leader urged a radical revision of the artificially frozen bilateral relations and suggested resolutely abandoning obsolescent stereotypes in favour of a new mode of political thinking, a mode that alone is conceivable in our day, and treats national and world interests as an organic whole.

Recalling his London visit at the Geneva U.S.S.R.-U.S. summit, Mikhail Gorbachev quoted Lord Palmerston's well-known aphorism that Britain has no eternal allies and no perpetual enemies, but only eternal and perpetual interests. The U.S.S.R. has always had the fullest understanding and respect for these interests. Do friendship and cooperation with the U.S.S.R. conflict, after all, with the U.K.'s national interests? Do they threaten its privileged or "special" relationship with the U.S.? Or, for that matter, with other allies and partners? On no account. After all, this is cooperation between two states and is not detrimental to any third party. Yes, cooperation, not marriage, in which a third party would certainly be out of place.

There is, it may be added, a wealth of historical experience of such cooperation, in the anti-Hitler coalition and in the extension of the alliance of the Big Three to bring into existence the

United Nations out of a common desire to put an end to war. The common sense that is traditionally thought of as a national British virtue, in other words, pragmatism unswayed by emotion was strikingly demonstrated in those days. We should not forget that the same Winston Churchill, who only a quarter of a century earlier had said that "Bolshevism must be strangled in the cradle," entered into an alliance with the U.S.S.R.

True, a year after the end of the war Churchill advised Washington to use its atomic monopoly immediately to bring their recent ally to its knees. After the passage of several years, however, Sir Winston again rose above ideological antipathies to demonstrate his realism when in 1954 he said it was necessary to enter into dialogue with Moscow. The reason was simple: the U.S.S.R. now possessed thermonuclear weapons and the British leadership found Washington's policies increasingly unpredictable and dangerous. In the 1950s Pentagon generals again and again discussed the possibility of using nuclear weapons first in the Korean war, and later in Indo-China. Churchill and his colleagues rightly feared that such an eventuality could provoke a worldwide nuclear conflict with the most catastrophic consequences, in which one of the first victims would surely be Britain as U.S. nuclear bombers were stationed there.

The realistic approach to East-West relations gained ground in British foreign policy as military-strategic parity was established between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., between the two groupings.

At any rate, after the end of the war London again and again produced constructive diplomatic initiatives, from Conservatives and Labours alike.

We should recall Tory leader Harold Macmillan's active contribution to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, a document of vast political significance internationally. At the time London constructively worked to support a dialogue between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., between West and East generally.

Further, in the 1970s, Harold Wilson's Labour government also promoted détente in Europe and significantly contributed to the successful Helsinki Conference and the all-European process. In 1975 major Anglo-Soviet agreements in both the political and economic fields were signed in Moscow.

In short, there is no small amount of positive experience in the bilateral relationship. Incidentally, negative experience can also serve a useful purpose, provided the right lessons are drawn. It is small wonder that Lord Carrington, Britain's Foreign Secretary in the early 1980s and now NATO Secretary-General, began at one point to warn against "megaphone diplomacy."

There was indeed a time when the rhetoric from London with regard to the U.S.S.R. and its allies resembled the Billingsgate of British soccer fans. Now and again one had the impression that the classic British restraint and sangfroid had forsaken the shores of Albion for the banks of the Moskva River. But strong language is not that important. Handsome is as handsome does. And here the balance sheet was full of contradictions.

The U.K. was the first country in Western Europe to have U.S. cruise missiles, targeted on the U.S.S.R., stationed on its soil and to support SDI. At the same time, it resisted pressure from Washington and did not agree to cancel contracts signed by British firms with Soviet organizations. One can hardly call such a policy consistent.

It would not be without interest in this respect to recall what Ivan Maisky, the prominent Soviet historian and diplomat, had to say about his conversations with Maxim Litvinov, Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in 1932 before leaving for London as Soviet ambassador. Litvinov gave a noteworthy analysis of Anglo-Soviet relations and the factors that affect them, saying that sentiments of ideological hostility "often befog the heads of Britain's ruling elite, blind it, and rob it of its habitual level-headedness and political foresight." He noted the unremitting opposition within the elite between the two trends, one in which a statesmanlike approach prevailed and cooperation with the U.S.S.R. was considered to be an advantage, and the other, dominated by a class approach. He maintained that the conflict between these two trends was responsible for the zigzags in our bilateral relations.

This is certainly an instructive analysis. We cannot isolate the present from the past and, in effect, it would be dangerous to do so. At the same time we must not be bogged down in history. One thing is clear: whereas in the 1930s the political myopia of a section of Britain's ruling circles led to tragedy, today it may culminate in universal disaster.

To prevent that happening, all nations must make urgent efforts, and in this respect the U.K. has an appreciable role to play. In the 1970s Prime Minister Edward Heath called Britain an average power of the first rank. Though, of course, the alignment of forces in the postwar world has changed, the Soviet Union has always viewed the U.K. as a great power, as a Security Council member shouldering great political responsibility on the international plane, and also as a possessor of nuclear weapons.

While on the subject of nuclear weapons, it should be noted that many specialists in the U.K. itself do not subscribe to the modest assessment of the U.K.'s nuclear potential, in which its officials are prone to indulge. Liberal MP Paddy Ashdown noted in the Guardian that if submarines were to have the Trident-2 nuclear missile instead of Polaris, Britain would acquire a first-strike nuclear potential which the U.S.S.R. would have to take into account.

Generally speaking, such problems as curbing the nuclear arms race, and especially ending all nuclear tests, and banning and abolishing chemical weapons, are all domains where Britain has shown initiative in the past. There is nothing to prevent it from playing a similar role today and in the future. The leaders of the main political parties continually exhort the government to do so. Incidentally, the "special" relationship with the U.S. ally implies not one-way but two-way trust and influence.

Watch the Weather

As for Soviet-British relations, their potential and prospects are truly infinite. Can it be considered normal that Britain, which a mere ten years or so ago led capitalist countries in trade with the U.S.S.R., is now somewhere near the bottom of the table? Note that the agreement signed to settle financial and property claims will now greatly ease reciprocal crediting and financing. We are far from having exhausted the possibilities for scientific and technological, cultural and humanitarian cooperation.

Finally, the perennial intervals in high-level political contacts in no way contribute to mutual understanding. However, recent years have given grounds for hope. A parliamentary delegation from the U.K. has visited Moscow, while First Deputy Premier Vsevolod Murakhovsky recently visited Britain. The Soviet leadership has had meetings with British party leaders Neil Kinnock, Denis Healey, David Steel and David Owen. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is to visit the U.S.S.R., as, when in London, Eduard Shevardnadze extended the appropriate invitations to her and her Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Addressing British MPs some 18 months ago, Mikhail Gorbachev recalled the proverb: "After rain sunshine." He emphasized that fair weather in relations between states would not come overnight without an effort from both sides. So we must work together to see to it that nobody wilfully summons storm clouds again, as, unlike the weather, the political climate depends on us.

A. LEBEDEV

JAPAN

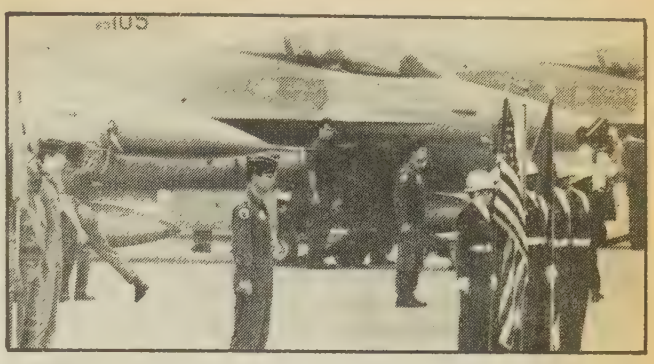
The Question Remains Unanswered

The U.S. Air Force plans to station F-16 fighter-bombers at Misawa in northeast Honshu a year earlier than scheduled, the Kyodo Tsushin news agency reports. General George Ally told the U.S. Congress that another 23 planes would complement the 27 already there.

Why such haste, your correspondent asked at a Japanese foreign ministry news conference. The press secretary thumbed through all his prepared replies to probable questions from foreign journalists but found nothing. After the news conference, he said the U.S. Administration had not so far notified the Japanese authorities of any changes in F-16 deployment deadlines.

The same question was again put at the press department of the U.S. army staff in Japan. No comment, said the press officer, after consulting the command of the Fifth Air Force, which controls the F-16s and the Misawa base.

One is hurt when one's questions go unanswered. With no official replies forthcoming, one may try to find the answer in newspapers or from specialists. A Japanese aviation magazine commentator explains that since April 1985, when the first three F-16s arrived at Misawa, A- and B-type planes have been stationed there; now, however, the latest C and P modifications will be coming in. Both are for nuclear attacks on targets within a radius of 900 km from Misawa. Which means that the Soviet Far East



The U.S. Air Force base at Misawa with F-16 fighter-bombers.

TASS photo

The Common Responsibility

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, has been to Moscow on an official visit at the Soviet government's invitation.

On July 21 CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev received Herr Genscher at the Kremlin. The West German Foreign Minister handed him a message from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

During the talks a broad range of international issues, especially the European situation and bilateral relations, were discussed.

The well-intentioned exchange of views and candid discussions reveal a common understanding of the disturbing world situation and a realization that, as there has been no progress so far at the nuclear weapons talks which could indicate a reduction of the military threat, it was essential to inaugurate a really constructive and productive East-West dialogue. It was further noted that the agreements already concluded, SALT and ABM in particular, must be observed and that the impending all-European forums and other talks should help to build stable interaction and cooperation between states.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Hans-Dietrich Genscher reaffirmed the fidelity of their respective states to the 1970 Moscow treaty and the Helsinki Final Act, which underlie bilateral relations and their contribution to the all-European process, whose furtherance calls for equal notice to be taken of every aspect—political, military, economic, cultural and humanitarian.

The CPSU General Secretary said that, considering the situation in the world and in Europe, as well as the state of bilateral relations, the Genscher visit was not mere routine. The world, he said, stood at a crossroads and where it went now would largely hinge upon Europe's political stance. He stressed that the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. must bear common responsibility in building their "European home," and take account of the lessons of history, their standing and prestige in Europe and the world and, naturally, their commitment to their respective military and political alliances. Mikhail Gorbachev said that, in attaching priority to European cooperation, the Soviet Union proceeded from the premise that disruption of Europe's present-day political and territorial structure would result in chaos and a deteriorating situation. But, preserving its status quo, Europe must and should, the CPSU General Secretary emphasized, contribute to a new mode of political thinking, to the solution of problems of general human significance, and the amelioration of the overall situation. This would be a particularly valuable contribution, he observed, as it would arise out of the joint efforts of states with differing systems, and would derive from a vast wealth of political experience and the economic, scientific, technological and other potential at Europe's disposal.

While taking note of the peace-loving statements by F.R.G. representatives, Mikhail Gorbachev said its policy was inconsistent. Its advocacy of the West German role and a responsible attitude to the world today did not dovetail with its support for the U.S. Administration's sabre rattling, the U.S. interim agreement envisaging the continued deployment of some intermediate-range missiles in Europe, involvement in the SDI programme, or its passive response to the possibilities for disarmament held out by the far-reaching Soviet initiatives. It would be in the interests of the F.R.G. itself, he said, to conduct an active disarmament policy and, if this took tangible shape, the F.R.G. would find in the U.S.S.R. a reliable and far from empty-handed partner.

The most conclusive evidence of the Soviet Union's peaceful designs is afforded by its plans for domestic reform whose purpose is to tap the whole of Soviet society's vast potential. At this highly promising stage in its development, the U.S.S.R. is prepared to cooperate with the F.R.G. in the economic field too by means of new channels that can be jointly discussed. This would consolidate material foundations for political dialogue, strengthen reciprocal interest and confidence, and make for a more successful and civilized relationship that would benefit all of Europe.

also lies within their zone of operations, which can be extended still further by refuelling in mid-air. The decision taken by the Pentagon early this year, which became public knowledge only in June, to deploy sophisticated F-16s is associated with the positive changes in Japanese-Soviet relations, as well as with U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger's forward-line strategy which envisages the deployment of U.S. armed forces as close as possible to Soviet borders even in peacetime.

The Pentagon's new strategy is manifest in the perceptible heightening of military tension in the Far East. Not only the deployment of the new nuclear weapon carriers at Misawa is relevant here, but also the provocative Fleet X exercises, during which U.S. task-force aircraft carriers simulated assaults on Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky and Vladivostok. Similar manoeuvres have been scheduled for the coming autumn.

The F-16s at Misawa systematically participate in joint exercises with Japanese F-15 fighters. At manoeuvres the two navies perfect operations simulating a Japanese escort of U.S. aircraft-carrier groups attacking targets within Soviet territory. An apposite instance is afforded by the multilateral Rimpac-86 exercises which involved a record number of ships of the naval Self-Defence Forces. The tendency to make Japanese naval forces escorts of U.S. nuclear warships is evident from the insistence with which Pentagon senior staff advise Tokyo to acquire ships capable of carrying the multiple-target Aegis missile complexes, and also from the invitation extended to participate this coming autumn in the provocative sortie to be undertaken by the battleship New Jersey in the vicinity of Vladivostok.

Growing deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapon carriers in Japanese territory and its coastal waters raise legitimate apprehensions on the part of the country's neighbours. Equally understandable is the anxiety the Japanese feel when their Prime Minister tells them that the three well-known non-nuclear principles are not as important as the Japanese-U.S. "security treaty," under which the U.S. maintains 100-odd military bases in Japan.

Tokyo officials claim that the U.S. guarantees protection under its nuclear "umbrella." Like any other state Japan is fully entitled to take care of its own security. But will the U.S. nuclear "umbrella" be of any use?

Admiral Stansfield Turner, CIA ex-director, a man well versed in U.S. nuclear strategy, stated in a Yomiuri interview that there was no nuclear "umbrella" at all over Japan or, for that matter, over Western Europe. The admiral said it was stupid to hope that a U.S. president would use nuclear missiles to protect Japan or Europe, as to do so would imperil Washington and New York.

Y. TAVROVSKY
Our Own Correspondent
Tokyo

ISRAEL—LEBANON

The Same Scenario

In West Beirut the thunder of explosions and the rat-a-tat of automatic fire are heard again. Oddly enough it has come following initial successes achieved in restoring law and order (with Syrian military observers' active co-operation) in that stronghold of national and patriotic forces. The resolute efforts made to combat anarchy and prevent further internecine conflicts, and the demolition of barricades do not appeal, of course, to those reluctant to see the endless bloodshed of the Lebanese crisis ended. We mean Israel, reactionary elements at home, and U.S. imperialism. The old oft-tested scenario has been trotted out once again, with agents engineering provocations inside areas controlled by national patriotic forces and with the Israeli military using force against these areas from outside.

The moment it was seen that plans for restoring order and security in West Beirut were really productive, right-wing Christian leaders met to declare that they regarded the presence of Syrian military advisers in West Beirut as "unlawful." Four mighty explosions in Beirut's main street of Hamra (Western sector) accompanied these statements. A day earlier "unidentified persons" staged two explosions near the Hotel Beau rivage where the Syrian observers have their HQ, and outside the house of the leader of the Lebanese Baath Party. Nor can the statement of an Israeli foreign ministry spokesman to the effect that Tel Aviv "is closely following the deployment of Syrian soldiers in Beirut" and "is in principle against a Syrian presence in Lebanese territory" be qualified otherwise than an incitement to such provocations. That this statement dovetails with those made by the Lebanese right leaders is worthy of note.

Tel Aviv propaganda, which also dovetails with that of the Lebanese right, is designed to rekindle internecine strife in West Beirut and southern Lebanon. Right-wing Christian information media allege that the explosions and anti-Syrian provocations in West Beirut are supposedly the work of a Moslem religious political organization, while Tel Aviv propagandists claim that Amal Shiites are "collaborating" with the Israeli occupation forces.

Simultaneously Tel Aviv is stepping up military pressure. Its naval forces have tightened the blockade along the entire coast-line of southern Lebanon, blocking the vital ports of Tyre and Saida, and thus making thousands of Lebanese fishermen and port and transport workers idle. Israeli occupation forces in southern Lebanon and their hirelings from the so-called South Lebanese Army are unremittingly attacking and furiously shelling points outside the "safety zone," which Tel Aviv unlawfully established in Lebanon along Israel's northern borders. From areas under assault from the Israelis and their mercenaries come reports of numerous casualties, destroyed houses, and burned crops.

Israeli aircraft are penetrating deep into Lebanese air space, simulating raids on its towns and Palestinian refugee camps. The Palestinian refugee camp of Ain al-Hilweh was bombed and then shelled by Israeli torpedo boats.

Next the "vultures" attacked the hill-country near Beirut, more specifically the villages of Baisur, Aitat and Shimlan controlled by the Progressive Socialist Party, which, like Amal, is active in West Beirut.

Exposing the purpose of all these provocations Lebanese Premier Rachid Karame said they were part of a campaign to destroy security in West Beirut. He also repudiated all who stigmatize the presence of Syrian military observers in West Beirut, calling this presence a "lawful act undertaken in response to an official request."

Meanwhile, to inflame tensions in Lebanon further, Tel Aviv has mounted another anti-Syrian intimidation campaign. This month General Aharon Yariv, Israeli military intelligence ex-chief, noted in a report that Syria "posed the only immediate military threat to Israel." Further, not without ulterior motives Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin observed that in 1970 "the United States and Israel might have acted together to attack Syria. . . ."

Surely, at this point one should recall the scenario that Washington and Tel Aviv

played out in the Middle East last April! Once again the provocations in Lebanon and the intimidation of Syria coincide with increased tension off Libyan shores, where the same U.S. Sixth Fleet is again conducting manoeuvres. A just and lasting peace and dependable security in the Middle East definitely conflict with the designs of the two strategic allies—Washington and Tel Aviv.

E. KORSHUNOV

U.S.A.—BOLIVIA

A Dangerous Precedent

The three huge U.S. Air Force transports that touched down at the military aerodrome near Santa Cruz, Bolivia, on July 14 delivered six helicopters armed with large-calibre machine guns, about 160 U.S. servicemen, as well as FBI and anti-narcotics agents. The helicopters next overflew the jungle area where a third of the cocaine flooding the "black markets" of the U.S. and Western Europe is produced. The officially declared purpose is to destroy coca plantations and underground processing laboratories.

Even before this joint Bolivian-U.S. operation began it was said that it was doubtful whether it would be successful. Indeed, neither cocaine caches nor laboratories were discovered, even though U.S. spy planes had recently spotted at least 35 laboratories. Furthermore, the ringleader of the Bolivian drug-pushing ring had urgently left for Rio de Janeiro "on holiday."

Inasmuch as the operation was a failure, many news analysts are wondering whether it did not have another purpose as well. There is reason to believe it did. The Pentagon, it transpires, allowed U.S. servicemen to "act in self-defence." Some Congressmen think this alone makes the operation "more than ordinary police action." The more so as, according to the press, the White House literally extorted the Bolivian government's request for cooperation in the anti-narcotics drive. It even threatened to lop $7 million off aid to this poorest of South American republics. According to the adviser to the Bolivian President, La Paz did not expect a military task force.

The palpable desire to ensure a U.S. military presence in Bolivia, this time under cover of an anti-cocaine raid, is prompted by the situation in that country, which is disturbing to Washington. Its government is pursuing an austerity policy at the expense of the working masses, adhering exclusively to International Monetary Fund recommendations. But since many Bolivians are aware that these recommendations are U.S.-dictated, it is small wonder that popular action is invariably anti-American.

The situation is so explosive that only recently, in line with a State Department directive, the U.S. embassy in La Paz conducted a training exercise to prepare for a possible storming of the building by demonstrators. Hence some commentators warn that the well-armed military contingent may well overstay the planned two months in Bolivia and be used, in keeping with the notorious formula, to "protect American lives."

It also has wider international significance. Latin American governments, whose policies do not suit Washington, are more and more frequently accused of "incompetence" if not "reluctance" to combat the drug traffic. Politicians in Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico have been blamed. It looks as if Washington wants to make the anti-narcotics drive as much a pretext for armed intervention as "the campaign against terrorism" or the "defence of human rights." At any rate the Bolivia operation creates a dangerous precedent. Senator John Herschel Glenn believes the next move may be to dispatch U.S. servicemen to Colombia, or indeed anywhere else where the U.S. deems its interests to be in peril.

V. KULISTIKOV

The bourgeois press often features pictures of Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA bandits. He is unconcerned by the tag of Judas Angolans have given him or the hard knocks Angolan patriots often mete out to his gangs. After all, he is an acknowledged "White House pet" and has access to Washington's corridors of power, where he is appreciated and respected. Now his representative, Jeremias Chitunda has come to Washington on an official invitation to attend the so-called "freedom fighters'" conference.

Chitunda proudly announced that UNITA had already received U.S. aid, which Congress estimates at $15 million, including Stingers. He also gave vent to numerous threats, declaring that UNITA "reserves the right" to attack the oil fields in the Cabinda enclave.

The accompanying picture, reproduced from the American magazine Newsweek, presents what we might term a symbolic episode. "The White House pet" has one foot stuck in a morass. Of course, it is easy enough to pull one's leg out. However, the morasses ahead are more perilous as sooner or later luck turns its back on traitors, and then neither U.S. million-dollar handouts, Stingers, nor "freedom fighters'" jamborees will help.

The Association of South East Asian Nations and imperialist dependence

Will the Noose Be Loosened?

VALERY ANDREYEV

At the end of June the capital of the Philippines, which had just undergone a turbulent political upheaval, played host to the 19th annual meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers. This forum was followed by talks, which are also held on a regular basis between ASEAN leaders and heads of the U.S., Japanese, Australian, New Zealand and Canadian foreign policy departments, as well as Common Market representatives.

Hard Times

The six association members are going through a difficult period. The rather high economic growth rates of the 1970s have given way to a profound and protracted crisis. The plummeting of world prices of oil, rubber, tin, and palm oil—their main export items—has adversely affected these countries' economies. Currency earnings have dropped sharply. Thus, sales of oil and gas netted Indonesia $19 billion in the 1981/82 fiscal year, as against $12 billion in 1985/86. Indonesian experts expect the figure to be another $4 billion less this fiscal year. Things are no better in this respect in the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and even Singapore, until recently considered a capitalist show case in the region. The situation is further exacerbated by U.S. and Japanese protectionism, and the huge debts run up by some of the members. (Indonesia and the Philippines owe $26 billion each, while Malaysia owes $13 billion.) That is why ASEAN members have to slash national construction programmes, seek new loans, and tighten their belts at the bidding of transnational banks and monopolies. All this brings living standards down and aggravates social tensions.

Aware of the direct connection between self-seeking Western policies and their own economic difficulties, ASEAN members tried to obtain some concessions, in particular from the U.S., which is largely responsible for the present situation. When President Reagan made a stopover in the Indonesian island of Bali on his way to the Tokyo Big Seven summit, ASEAN ministers handed him a memorandum setting out their claims. However, the Tokyo meeting failed to live up to their expectations. As Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja put it, the meeting did not alter the approach to the problems facing the developing countries. And Malaysian Premier Mahathir Mohamad stated, not without bitterness, that the industrialized Western countries and Japan not only reject a new international economic order based on a fair and democratic foundation, but are working to establish a diametrically different order of things.

The ASEAN countries intend to tackle their economic problems along two lines.

Firstly, promotion of regional economic cooperation in order to reduce their dependence on the imperialist states and the fluctuations of the world capitalist market. The new President of the Philippines, Corazon Aquino, attaches special significance to this. She criticized the association for failing, in the nearly two decades of its existence, to build up really strong regional ties. She urged it to pass from words to deeds in this matter, and her call found a ready response: the June conference endorsed two documents, on inter-ASEAN cooperation in the power industry and on oil sales. The latter provides for deliveries of oil by oil-rich Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia to their partners in the association—the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Secondly, ASEAN will press for the abolition of Western protectionist barriers, the stabilization of world industrial commodity prices and free access to high technology. But their efforts have failed to bear tangible fruit. As has already been mentioned, the hopes pinned on the Big Seven's magnanimity were not realized. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz did not even bother to hide his reluctance to make economic concessions. The Japanese displayed greater flexibility. Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe brought to Manila a "new doctrine," prompted by sharper criticism of Japan's economic and military policies. He said that the lessons of the past had not been lost on Japan and it was not going to become a major military power again; instead, it wanted to base its relations with the Southeast Asian countries on mutual understanding, cordial friendship, and equitable economic cooperation.

Yet his promises to increase aid and galvanize a friendly exchange of opinions were so vague that they can hardly be regarded as serious concrete commitments. It is believed in ASEAN that the "new doctrine" is aimed not at solving the problems that have built up in Japanese-ASEAN relations, but at taking the edge off them and impressing the public favourably. In general, Kyodo Tsushin reports from Manila, the talks with the U.S. and Japan were disappointing for the ASEAN ministers—all they had got were promises and not concrete measures.

Anti-War Feeling

For his part, George Shultz tried to move economic questions to the background, bringing political ones to the fore and trotting out the bogey of the "Soviet threat" again and again. He did not manage to hide Washington's irritation at the failure of the ASEAN states to appreciate the validity of its thesis that a "growing Soviet presence"

in Southeast Asia is the main cause of tension in the region. Indications of this, observers note, are the recent pronouncements of Indonesian and Malaysian leaders, who have in fact rejected the U.S. allegations.

Furthermore, the fact that ASEAN members are pressing ever more actively for a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia also goes against Washington's grain. The implementation of this idea, along with the already proclaimed nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific, does not square with U.S. military strategic plans for the Asian-Pacific region, nor, for that matter, with its global strategy as a whole. In this connection the Indonesian Merdeka wrote that the Secretary of State was again out to impose the U.S. concept of nuclear weapons, opposing it to the idea of a nuclear-free zone. However, the paper went on, ASEAN would not allow Southeast Asia to become a common grave for victims of a nuclear holocaust as humanity had had more than its share of U.S. atomic genocide in Hiroshima and Nagasaki forty years ago.

Some other statements in the final communiqué are also characterized by anti-war feeling. The foreign ministers censured the nuclear arms race and called for strict observance of the SALT-2 treaty. They urged the United States and the Soviet Union to abide by the treaties concluded and understandings reached, and not to reject them. Clearly, the ASEAN countries are seriously concerned about Washington's policy of reneging on its commitments under the Soviet-U.S. treaties on arms limitation and disarmament.

Contradictions Remain

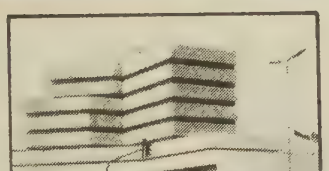
For all that, there are still issues on which the ASEAN countries toe the West's line. This inconsistency may be attributed to the varying degrees of their political, military and economic dependence on the United States (including their status as debtor countries) and to some other factors, both internal and external. All this made itself felt at the Manila meeting. Some participants tried to inflate the "Kampuchea question." Calling for a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea, they reiterated the "eight-point porgramme" which the Kampucheans had resolutely rejected. Attempts to present the "problem of Kampuchea" as an obstacle to making Southeast Asia a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality exposed the unconstructive, patently anti-Vietnamese character of this approach which is incompatible with the course at dialogue with Vietnam pursued by Indonesia, a course that objectively lays the groundwork for a settlement. Analyzing this section of the Manila communiqué, the Hanoi Nhan Dan wrote: "Slander, falsification and pressure on the Indo-China states is no way to work for a settlement in Kampuchea. They can only raise new obstacles to it."

The significance of the conference, however, lies elsewhere. It clearly demonstrated—and most observers agree here—that the ASEAN countries are striving for a more independent policy and greater interaction in tackling the complex problems that face them. The meeting has also shown the association's growing realization of the grave consequences of the unbridled arms race Washington seeks to impose on them, and their reluctance to play the role it allots them in its militaristic scenario.

It is noteworthy that in their coverage of the Manila conference many ASEAN journalists stressed the importance of promoting good and more active relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Soviet Union has always displayed readiness to broaden all-round cooperation with individual ASEAN countries and with the association as a whole—not out of some ulterior motives, but in the full conviction that such cooperation is in the interests of the nations concerned and contributes to greater security in Southeast Asia and throughout the world. As hitherto, the Soviet Union intends to back this principled stand with practical action. ■

The regional Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was set up on August 8, 1967. Its proclaimed objective is promotion of cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and technological spheres. In point of fact, political cooperation has become the main focus of its activities. The ASEAN Secretariat headquarters are located in Jakarta.



The building of the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta.

Brunei. Sultanate. Area 5,800 sq. km. Population 210,000. Main branch of the economy: oil extraction. Joined the association after proclaiming independence in January 1984.

Indonesia. Republic. Area 1,904,000 sq. km. Population about 165 million. Main branches of the economy: agriculture (rice, rubber, coffee, palm oil), mining (oil, tin, bauxites). Main export items: oil, petroleum products, gas.

Malaysia. Monarchy. Area 333,000 sq. km. Population about 15.3 million. Holds first place in the world for rubber production, palm oil cultivation and tin extraction. Oil and bauxites also mined.

Singapore. Republic. Area 619 sq. km. Population 2.5 million. A major centre of trade, industry, finance and transport.

Thailand. Kingdom. Area 514,000 sq. km. Population 53 million. Main export items: rice, rubber, tin, timber.

Philippines. Republic. Area 300,000 sq. km. Population about 55 million. A major producer of copra and palm oil, abaca (a kind of hemp), sugar cane, tobacco and pineapples. It also exports chromium ore, copper and nickel.

Another Government Crisis

LEONID POPOV

Italy is having another government crisis, its 44th in the postwar period. After Parliament had turned down the bill on state allocations to local authorities by a majority of 27 votes, Prime Minister Bettino Craxi handed in his cabinet's resignation to the President of the Republic. At present, top party leaders are in consultation over the formation of a new cabinet.

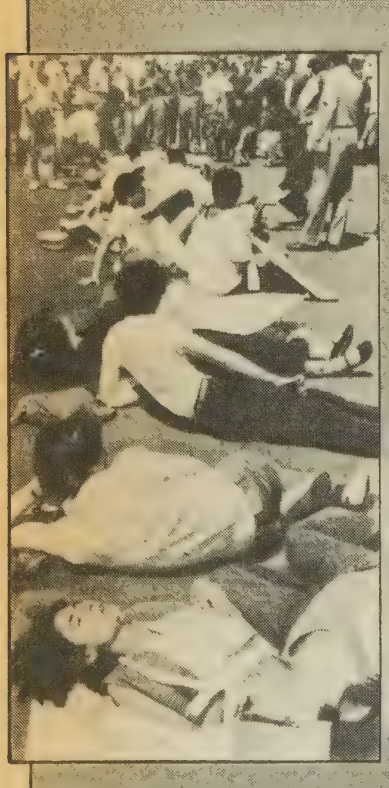
The new, 45th, Italian cabinet may already have been formed by the time this issue reaches the reader. Bettino Craxi, the leader of the Italian Socialist Party (ISP), may stay on as Prime Minister, the post he has held since the summer of 1983. Other probabilities, including that of unscheduled parliamentary elections, are not to be ruled out, either. But while the crisis persists let us try to analyze the development of the situation in the country over the past few years.

The balance of political forces has changed markedly. The seventies saw an impressive advance by the left—especially the Communist Party (ICP). This provided the conditions for staging an original experiment in "national solidarity," i.e., for drawing the ICP into indirect participation in government affairs through periodical consultations and the coordination of certain measures with it, giving the Communists a say in the cabinet's policy making. This practice was discontinued after the assassination of one of its sponsors—Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro. At the preterm parliamentary elections of 1979, the Communists lost 4 per cent of the vote, allowing the capitalist parties to regroup their forces and try to redirect the country's political development into the channel of moderate centrism.

The 1983 elections proved an important turning point: they led to new, largely unexpected, changes. The Christian Democratic Party (CDP) lost much of its influence with the electorate, while the Socialist vote somewhat increased. More votes were also cast for the so-called small secular parties—Social Democrat, Republican and Liberal. What ensued was a cabinet with CDP members holding most of the posts, but with the ISP political secretary as Prime Minister. The cabinet, composed of Demochristians, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals, stayed in office till June 27, i.e., for just over a thousand days—a record for postwar Italy where governments held out for an average of about 6-8 months.

For the CDP, with its comparatively large majority, handing over the post of Prime Minister to the leader of the Socialist Party, which had won a mere 11 per cent of the vote, was a great concession. For all the attempts to work out and conduct a coordinated policy, the partners in the five-party coalition clashed, now and then, on home and foreign policy issues. Crisis was in the air.

Passions in political circles and in parliament ran especially high after it had become clear, in the course of the 17th CDP Congress (May 1986), that the Christian Democrats, backed by big and medium-size business, were changing over from "wait-and-see" tactics to a policy aimed at regaining full powers of government. The overwhelming majority (75 per cent) of congress delegates voiced their support for Ciriaco De Mita, political secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, and approved the line of restoring their former influence which he had put forward. Addressing the Socialists, in particular, the CDP demanded, first,



The Italian working classes seek guaranteed rights to jobs, housing and peace. They want stronger security, not military preparations costing hundreds of billions of lire. Seen here are an anti-war demonstration in Rome, striking Ligurian workers, and homeless Potenza earthquake victims, whom the authorities appear to have forgotten.

TASS photos

that the post of president be returned to the Christian Democrats; second, that the "Red giuntas" (i.e., left-wing local authorities) be replaced by centrist or left-of-centre giuntas with Christian Democrats predominating in them; and third, that the post of Prime Minister be returned to the CDP.

These demands are far removed from Italy's most urgent problems, such as working out a long- and middle-term policy, introducing economic programming, combating unemployment, and modernizing the backward economy of the South. Nevertheless, they were supported by certain quarters for which even a minimum leftward shift is unacceptable. The CDP had its first two demands fulfilled in 1985, when Francesco Cossiga, a prominent Christian Democrat, was elected President. As a result of mid-term local elections held in the same year (not very successful for the Communist Party and other left-wing forces), many key posts in the local government bodies, including that of Mayor of Rome, were regained by Christian Democrats. All this encouraged the CDP leadership to demand at the May congress that the post of Prime Minister be returned to it as well.

Immediately after the CDP congress, relations between partners in the government coalition became more strained than ever. The Socialists, whose influence in the country was growing, if only slightly, in the eighties were not going to sheathe their swords. Commenting on the deliberations of the CDP congress, Claudio Martelli, deputy political secretary of the ISP, said at the end of May that the ruling coalition could not continue in existence because the CDP regards the Socialist Party as a mere "vassal." The ISP leaders took a still harder line on the eve of the administrative elections in Sicily. The Socialist leaders clearly gave all those concerned to understand that if the ISP won (which it did) they would demand a cabinet reshuffle.

In the light of the above, the results of the late-June voting in Parliament over the bill on allocations to local authorities did not come as a surprise. The only mystery to remain was who of the coalition's own members voted against it. Just before that, the Craxi cabinet had been readily given a vote of confidence by a show of hands. A ballot revealed, however, that 293 MPs were against the above-mentioned bill and only 266 in favour of it. It was easy to establish that those who had voted against it included 64 representatives of the ruling coalition.

There is no predicting further developments in Italy. So far one thing is clear: all the rival members of the former coalition will try to avoid pre-term parliamentary elections. Dissolving parliament is hardly a way to gain popularity in the country where electors have already been invited to the polls a year or two ahead of schedule three times over the past decade. The leaders of the political parties are taking these factors into account in their planned (and unplanned) political moves.

For its part, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party points out that the resignation of the Craxi cabinet was a necessity, that the voting in parliament marked the end of a specific phase in Italian policy and the collapse of the five-party coalition.

In the opinion of the Italian Communist Party, the political consultations conducted first by Amintore Fanfani and, later, by Giulio Andreotti (both prominent figures in the Christian Democratic Party) ended in failure because in their attempts to break the deadlock they proceeded from a government formula which had outlived itself. The Communists stress the need to form a new majority and a new government with the present composition of parliament left unchanged.

At the same time the current crisis has shown once again that the political contradictions visible on the surface are mere reflections of more deep-seated socio-economic ones.

As G. B. Gerace, the Italian Marxist scholar, points out, "on the one hand, industry is undergoing reconstruction, producing and exporting; its profits are skyrocketing, family savings remain at a high level, financial activity is growing fast... There is a boom on the stock exchange. **From the point of view of capital,** therefore [my emphasis—**L. P.**] Italy appears to be an expanding economy to which the fall of the oil prices, the low exchange rate of the dollar and the consolidation of the F.R.G. mark hold out new prospects of enrichment and brisk export trade in Europe. On the debit side, there is a nation beset with unresolved problems, old and new: unemployment is out of control, women and an entire generation of young people are being ousted from the labour market, the South is falling ever further behind and still unable to match the living standard of the North and the transformations in progress there; state finance is heading for disaster.... The contrast between these two sides of the coin is striking indeed."

This contrast will have its effect on further developments in Italy and the fate of the next government, whoever leads it. ■

APPOINTMENTS

Albert Ivanovich RACHKOV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

Albert Rachkov, Russian, was born on June 22, 1927, in Stavropol. In 1950 he graduated from the Azovo-Chernomorsky Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture, and in 1971 from the Higher Party School under the CPSU Central Committee (by correspondence). A member of the CPSU since 1955, Albert Rachkov is an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen S.S.R.

In 1950-56 Albert Rachkov held executive posts at the Kemerovo Region Agriculture Administration, and in 1956-65, at the Chebula District Committee of the CPSU and the Kemerovo Region Committee of the CPSU.

In 1965-69 and in 1974-80 Albert Rachkov did administrative work on the staff of the CPSU Central Committee. In 1969-74 he was secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Region Committee, and in 1980-86, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan.

Albert Rachkov has been awarded two orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the Badge of Honour Order and medals.

Moussa Traore:

"Relations of Concord"

While in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit between July 14 and July 19, Army General Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali and General Secretary of the Democratic Union of the Mali People, granted the following exclusive interview to our magazine.

Q. The U.S.S.R. has had relations of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of Mali ever since it emerged as an independent state. What do you think of future prospects for these relations, more specifically in the light of your present Soviet visit and talks?

A. We have just signed a Declaration for the further promotion of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Mali, which underscores the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. We also agreed to draft a long-term programme for planned cooperation in such fields as farming, the drive against drought and desertification, education, information, the extraction of minerals, and geological prospecting and surveying. And since we have also signed agreements to reduce cooperation to concrete terms it will easily be realized that cooperation between our countries is full of promise.

As for the political aspect, the U.S.S.R. and Mali have agreed to relations of concord on all vital issues of common interest, among which I could mention the following: the complete liberation of Africa and the drive against racism in South Africa, the consolidation of national independence, and the struggle for peace, disarmament and international friendship, all of which is at the focus of our attention.

Q. Africa faces tremendous economic difficulties today. What are their causes and how do you think they can be overcome? In this connection, what do you think of the results of the special session of the U.N. General Assembly devoted to Africa's critical economic plight?

A. Africa is indeed beset with many economic difficulties, the causes of which are twofold. Firstly, there are external causes. As everyone knows, Africa suffered most from the slave trade, which over the centuries greatly depleted its manpower. Then there was colonialism, whose aims and practices were far removed from the interests of the peoples of the continent. In the 1960s many African nations, including Mali, shook off the colonialist yoke. But as the colonialists had adapted production to their tastes and needs, it is no wonder that Africa is still afflicted by the ills that the colonialist system engendered. After we became independent we had to start everything literally from scratch. A paramount task was to restore the people's faith in their own dignity, in their ability to exploit nature's resources for their own well-being. We had to build schools, hospitals and elements of the infrastructure. As for farming, in some spheres we had to abandon the monoculture designed for export. Nor should one overlook the consequences of the world economic crisis which has worsened conditions for trade and introduced high bank rates. Though rich in minerals Africa is still among the poorest continents as equitable prices for its raw materials are denied it. No wonder our continent is crushed by the burden of debt.

However, there are also internal causes, in particular, the drought and desertification that have struck at certain regions of Africa, especially the Sahel countries. The last twenty years have seen a marked fall in agricultural output. That crucial branch of stock-rearing was particularly hard hit, with many head of cattle dying. For a number of years farmers sowed, but did not harvest, as there was no rain. We had to apply for urgent help in the way of food. May I avail myself of this occasion to thank the donors, including the U.S.S.R., for the generosity and solidarity that saved so many lives. The special U.N. General Assembly session showed that the world is not deaf to Africa's appeals. Our partners in development came to what one can call the continent's sickbed. Yet it must be admitted that the results of the three days of discussions did not measure up to the hopes engendered. No progress is observable in the approach to the debt problem or to the establishment of a new world economic order.

While on the subject of the internal causes of economic hardship, I must also indicate our inadequate means of production and poor management. Africa must draw the necessary lessons and, above all, convince itself that the noblest, most useful form of help is self-help.

Q. What do you think caused the crisis in southern Africa?

A. Apartheid has reduced the black majority to the position of servants who have only obligations and no rights, but only the status of inferiors. The struggle to break the chain of racial segregation and institute equality has not ceased in South Africa for a single moment. The African National Congress, whose great leader Nelson Mandela has been arbitrarily incarcerated for more than twenty years now, has covered itself with glory in the fight for freedom and equality. Outside of South Africa, the racists seek to perpetuate their illegal occupation of Namibia, in spite of U.N. decisions, more specifically Security Council resolution No. 435. Faced with the obstinacy of Pretoria, which rejects all calls to common sense, the opponents of apartheid have no alternative other than to step up the struggle. They will win because they are fighting for a righteous cause. It behoves all who cherish peace and justice to support the people of South Africa, economic sanctions against which will help its valiant people. Loyal to its policy of solidarity with peoples seeking freedom and independence, Mali will make every effort to back southern Africa's patriots in their fight to accomplish their noble goals.

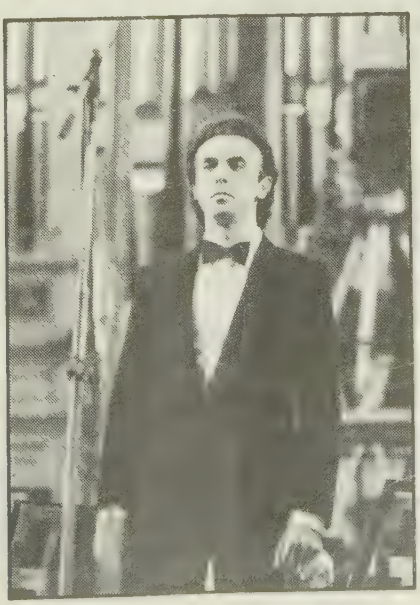
■

THE TCHAIKOVSKY CONTEST

"THE spring of the world of music" was how celebrated French pianist Marguerite Long termed the First International Tchaikovsky Competition 28 years ago. Each of the seven competitions since then has blossomed with new musical discoveries and the one held this summer demonstrated anew the mounting prestige of Moscow Tchaikovsky competition.

Though a hundred-odd music competitions are held throughout the world today, none can rival the Tchaikovsky competition. This year, some 400 musicians and singers from 46 countries in all five continents competed for honours at the latest, 8th competition. Not only countries with a long history of music, such as Britain, France, the G.D.R., the F.R.G. and Italy were represented, but also relative newcomers, such as Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Iraq, Syria and Nigeria. The largest groups came from the U.S. and Japan.

Auditions in the Grand Hall of the Moscow Conservatoire ● British pianist Barry Douglas wins the top prize ● Soviet singer Alexander Morozov is awarded one of the two top prizes ● Gold medals go to Italian cellist Mario Brunello and his Soviet colleague Kirill Rodin



Soviet violinist Ilya Kaler shares first place with Rafaël Oleg Simanot of France ● Kirill Rodin ● Soviet singer Natalia Erasova merits the first prize ● Interviewing Rafaël Oleg Simanot ● Backstage

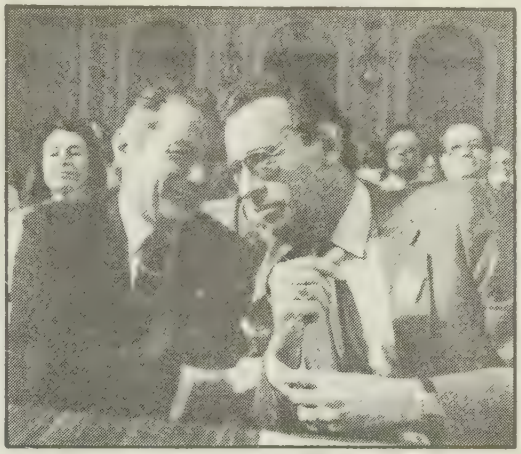
With music of different periods and styles on the programme for the four contests—in piano, violin, cello and solo singing—performers can display their abilities to the full. Predictably, Russian music tends to dominate.

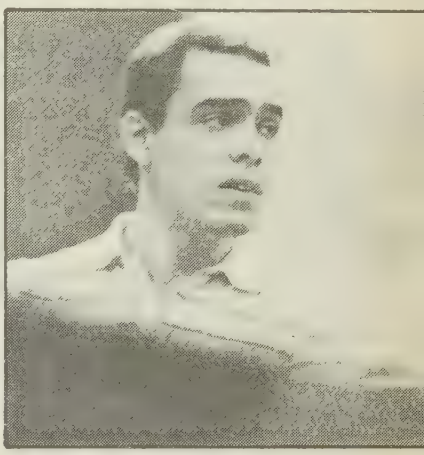
The juries were drawn from leading figures in the world of music from different countries. We asked Daniel Pollack, the American pianist, a prize-winner at the First Tchaikovsky Competition and vice-chairman of the jury for pianists at the

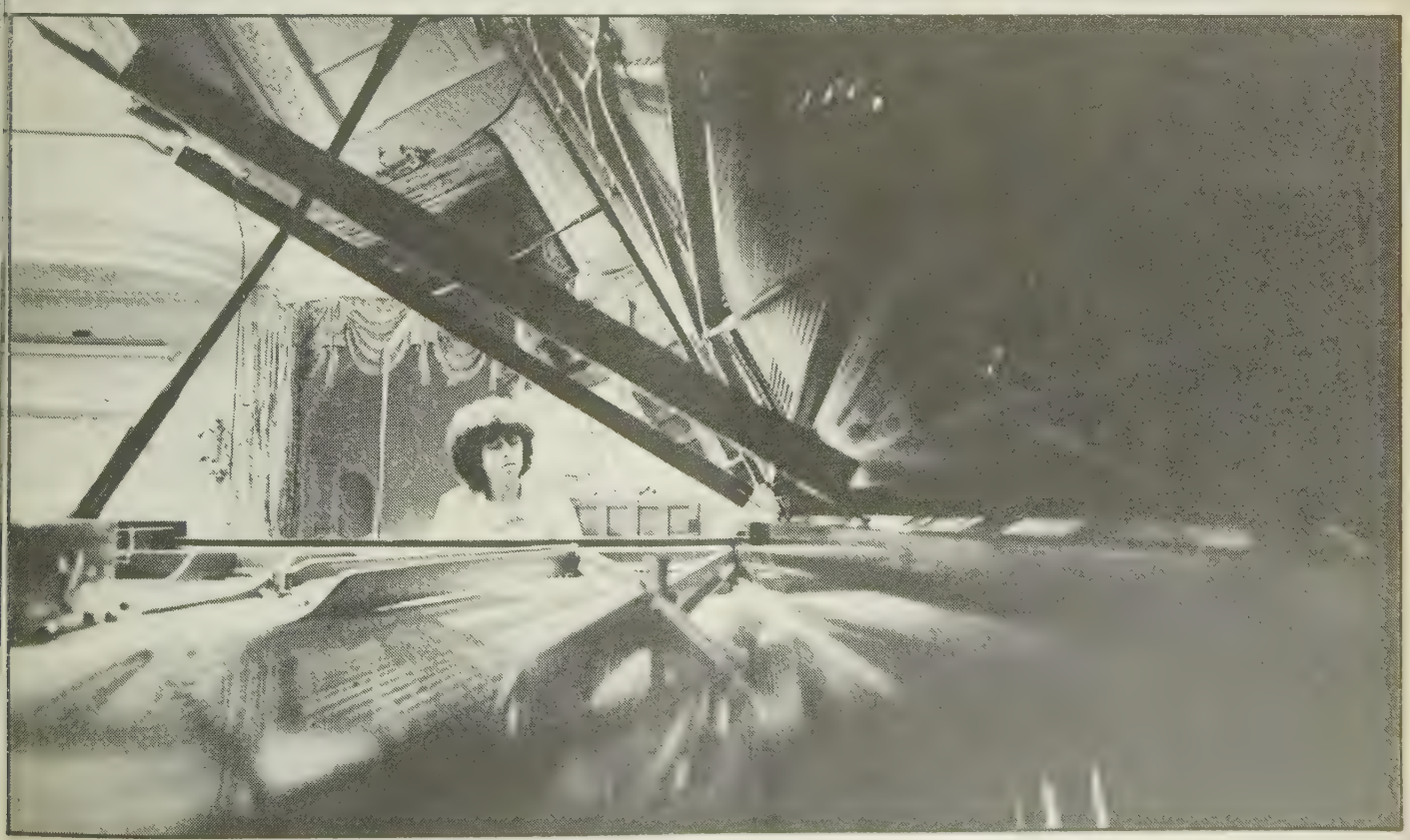
8th competition, to share his impressions.

He said the competition yielded more in the way of impressions and information than

Soviet vocalist Grigory Gritsyuk, one of the two to receive a gold medal ● The voting audience ● The Soviet composer Andrei Eshpai (left) and U.S. pianist Daniel Pollack, respectively chairman and vice-chairman of the jury panel for the piano contest ● Cuban pianist Victor Rodriguez, who was placed sixth, was awarded a prize for artistry ● Soviet silver medal-winning pianist Natalia Trool at the keys







American singer Barbara Kilduff, who shared second prize with her Romanian colleague Ana-Felicia Filip, taking the bow

musicians could normally obtain in the space of a year. It is one of the world's top competitions, he said, and to win a prize markedly enhances any musician's reputation. As many young performers the world over dream of taking part and, still more, of winning a prize, he believed this was responsible for the mounting interest in the competition. To win top prizes, he continued, one had to display not only great professionalism, but also charisma, to which he attached special significance as a quality that could not be learnt.

Among those who became an immediate favourite with Moscow audiences was British pianist Barry Douglas. His rendering of Mussorgsky's "Pictures from an Exhibition" produced a standing ovation from the packed Grand Hall at the Moscow Conservatoire, while when he walked out onto the platform to play Tchaikovsky's First Piano Concerto in the third round, it seemed as if the applause would never end. And shouts of "First Prize for Barry Douglas" came from the gallery. The jury headed by People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. Andrei Eshpai, the noted Soviet composer, definitely agreed, awarding him the highest prize with the accompanying gold medal.

Australian violinist Jane Peters gets third prize ● Soviet violinist Maksim Fedotov and his colleague Xue Wei from the People's Republic of China congratulating one another upon both winning silver medals ● Autograph hunters

Generally speaking, the Eighth Tchaikovsky Competition produced an especially lavish crop of gold medals, with two top prizes awarded in all events, except the piano.

By now the prize-winning musicians and singers are well on the way to stardom in the world of music. For those who did not win prizes, the Tchaikovsky competition was nevertheless a magnificent experience.

Text by Vera KOLOSOVA, photos by Anatoly GARANIN

Less Distrust, More Courage

The third conference "New Horizons in East-West Trade and Cooperation" has been held in Vienna, the Austrian capital. It was organized by the International Council for New Initiatives in East-West Cooperation, an international non-government organization made up of representatives of business, scientific and public circles. It was created in pursuit of the Helsinki Final Act. Academician DJERMEN GVISHIANI, Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and President of the International Council, has kindly consented to inform our readers of the results of the Vienna-III Conference.

This year the traditional Vienna conference attracted special attention. This was above all due to the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva in November 1985. Many people regard it as a signal to expand trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the two world systems.

The listing of the Vienna-III Conference as an outstanding event in the current International Year of Peace is compatible with the spirit of Geneva. This point was made in the message sent by Javier Perez de Cuellar, U.N. Secretary-General, to the conference, expressing a high opinion of its contribution to East-West understanding.

Western business circles also evinced keen interest in the plans for accelerated socio-economic progress the U.S.S.R. and CMEA member countries have adopted. As they see it, in addition to the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member Countries till the year 2000, these plans open up further opportunities for cooperation. It was these plans that prompted more than 300 prominent businessmen and economic executives from 23 Eastern and Western countries, as well as envoys from many international organizations, to come to Vienna.

Though Washington and some of its allies in NATO have taken a series of steps in the sphere of foreign policy to create an unfavourable situation for mutually advantageous cooperation, the interest displayed by both sides in expanding business ties determined the course of discussions in Vienna. The participants in the conference continued the discussion of problems of European cooperation started back in the 1970s. In recent years the International Council for New Initiatives in East-West Cooperation has organized several international conferences, seminars and symposia. Among these were meetings on transport held in the F.R.G. in 1982, the coal-mining industry in Poland in 1983, cooperation with developing countries in the G.D.R. in 1984, and on the financial backing of economic cooperation and trade in France in 1984. The international forums on East-West industrial cooperation and trade, conducted on the initiative of Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, in Varna in 1982 and 1985 were extremely successful. It was decided to hold these forums regularly. The Varna-III Forum is to take place in 1987. Next year the International Council also intends to hold conferences on CMEA-EEC trade and on European cooperation in transport.

The Vienna-III agenda included a wide range of items: trade and co-production, cooperation in energy and the utilization of natural resources, transport, protection of the environment, and exchanges in science and technology. The Austrian spokesmen proposed to include in the discussions the peaceful use of space. This reflected the anxiety of the world public about the U.S. "star wars" programme.

The Vienna discussions were highly productive. Special attention was focussed on the need for strict observance of the basic principles of business relations: elimination of discriminatory practices, equality and mutual advantage, the expansion of channels for technological exchange and the removal of obstacles standing in its way, and the improvement of the commodity structure of trade through an increase in the share of manufactured products. It was considered expedient to conduct a new comparative analysis of the prospects for the development of atomic power plants, taking account of probable risks and possible shortages of energy supply. A forecast on the development of transport for the period ending in 2000 and beyond was also recommended, along with the drafting of a European agreement on the development of road haulage and of a long-term programme for the development of transport in Europe.

Vienna-III also emphasized the need for greater cooperation in increasing harvests and improving storage of farm products, as well as developing new foodstuffs and fodder with the help of biotechnology. The participants in the conference were all for expanding scientific and technological cooperation in such fields as non-waste and resource-saving processes, informatics and the automation of production. Acting on a proposal by Austrian spokesmen, the conference recommended that participants study the possibilities for the creation of an international space technology research centre and the implementation of joint peaceful space research and exploration projects (along the lines of that on Halley's Comet). To improve the credit system for East-West business exchange, the participants in Vienna-III considered it expedient to diversify the payments and extend the use of the European currency unit (ecu).

The final document of the conference will be presented to the Vienna meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held this November. The document states that the further development of East-West economic, scientific and technological cooperation has materially contributed to efforts for a constructive political dialogue of interest to all parties. The speakers who took part in the discussions in Vienna said that to cement economic relations it was necessary to display new thinking and constructive approach.

In general Vienna-III has shown that Western business and financial quarters, scientists and civic leaders wish to extend mutually advantageous ties with the socialist countries. There is a growing understanding of the fact that only their active efforts can help remove the obstacles hindering the development of such ties. Addressing the conference Umberto Agnelli, president of the FIAT concern, said: "I'd sum up by saying that the challenge we're faced with today, if we are to avoid the risk of what someone has called benign stagnation in East-West relations can be summarized in a slogan 'less distrust, less dependence on the political formulas of the past, more courage in the proposal not of vague ideas but practical projects.' And that means nothing else but 'less past and more future,' more creativity, more ideas in economic cooperation between East and West."

We are completely in favour of such an approach. ■

In Pursuit of Social Revenge

TIMUR TIMOFEYEV
Corresponding Member, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Acceleration strategy assigns a decisive role to the working people. This is another manifestation of the humanism inherent in our socialist system in which man, the creator of material and spiritual values, comes first.

This has been noted by many observers in various countries, by people of far from identical political persuasions and philosophical outlooks. Here is just one example. Domenico Rosati, President of the Workers' Christian Association, visited the Soviet Union recently. "I was favourably impressed," he said on his return home, "by the pronouncements about the value of man whom technological progress must serve." In his opinion this is not merely "a question of ethics" but the main objective of the U.S.S.R.'s current effort "to solve the enormous problems associated with restructuring and internal development which the 27th CPSU Congress pointed to.... There is no doubt that the Russians consider the year 2000 the deadline for the elimination of nuclear weapons." Following a thorough discussion of topical problems of peace and European security with Soviet political leaders, Domenico Rosati pointed out the following: "I felt reassured after my authoritative interlocutors told me: 'We have no right to lose patience in the struggle for peace.'"

Socialism Happens Not to Be Capitalism

Indeed, it is now clear to all that the creative strategy of Soviet Communists is inseparably, organically connected with their purposeful action for peace and a comprehensive international security system.

As one examines the methods used by conservative forces in their opposition to the innovatory ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress, one cannot help noting that this time, too, they are resorting to banal tricks and clichés in order to denigrate socialist society at any cost. They question the feasibility of the Leninist Party's programmatic objectives, make pitiful attempts to discredit them by asserting that these objectives "are based on an already familiar combination of measures" which are hardly likely to produce results; they maliciously divorce economic analysis from the consideration of the social problems now being dealt with; they take an extremely narrow view of the CPSU's social policy, reducing it to the level of individual material consumption; finally, they feign disillusionment and doggedly deny the possibility of our economy functioning efficiently unless it adopts capitalist methods.

Varied as these comments are, they all amount to the same thing: socialism is censured for not being capitalism. As the New York Daily News bluntly put it, the economic reform now in progress in the U.S.S.R. will fall short of restructuring the Soviet economy because the latter is state-controlled. The British conservative press shares this view and offers us "well-wishing" advice to abandon the socialist system. Commenting on the technological advances planned and already being carried out in the U.S.S.R., the Big Business press examines them, more often than not, in complete isolation from social factors, from the vital interests of the working man. It is precisely in this sphere, however, that socialism manifests most vividly its basic traits which are in sharp contrast with those of modern capitalism under which high technology is made use of to erode the social gains of the working class.

Needless to say, such "criticisms" of real socialism hold no water. This is obvious even in cases where Western propaganda somewhat shifts the emphasis. The 27th CPSU Congress has compelled our ideological opponents to cut down, willy-nilly, on the stereotyped and wholesale accusations of "non-democratism" they fling at socialist society. This showed quite clearly in the comments on the congress which, by the nationwide discussions that preceded it, its deliberations, its decisions, and by its very spirit has compelled many of our critics to modify their notions of Soviet democracy. The Japanese Asahi, for instance, said that the congress documents closely linked the democratization of political life in the U.S.S.R. with the promotion of self-government and popular control, on the basis of broad publicity and a frank admission of setbacks and shortcomings.

Some Western propaganda media clearly disapprove of the fact that the Soviet socio-political and economic system is based on democratic centralism. Misrepresenting the essence of this principle, they groundlessly allege that centralized management and greater self-reliance on the part of production units are mutually exclusive. Right-wing conservative papers even wonder how the expanding socialist self-government of the people can be combined with increased work efficiency and stronger discipline.

Post-congress discussions have revealed that Soviet Communists are sharply critical of the shortcomings and omissions which hinder the overcoming of inertia and real progress. Sharper and franker criticism is now being levelled at the braggadocio, empty verbiage, incompetence and unbusinesslike style of work. This systematic impartial criticism, coming from the Soviet mass media and found in resolutions by local and central party, government and economic management bodies, steadily depreciates the propaganda value of attempts to play up negative features which we ourselves denounce loudly and indignantly.

The congress stressed the serious need to work out a new type of thinking. This call, expressing the imperatives of our time, is addressed both to the

Article 2. For the beginning see Issue No. 29, 1986.

Soviet people and to other nations. We must learn new thinking if we are to carry out a radical restructuring in the socio-economic sphere. New thinking is necessary to all nations on earth if they are to survive and preserve civilization in the modern world where everything is interconnected. Therein lie the dialectics of the intertwining of class principles and those common to all mankind, the dialectics of contradiction and interdependence in the world today.

Dangerous Relapses

This analysis has led us to believe firmly in the vital need to restructure international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence with a view to setting up a comprehensive international security system. In the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the June 1986 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, and in statements by Mikhail Gorbachev, this conviction is expressed with irrefutable logic and a sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind, which makes them a serious contribution towards a lasting world peace.

All the more striking, therefore, is the discrepancy between the growing need for realistic and, at the same time, innovatory political thinking, and calls to do away with socialism, to cancel the laws of history and to reverse its progress. Relapses into great-power thinking are especially strongly pronounced in Washington which doggedly adheres to neoglobalist ideas, social revenge concepts, and the like. Hence the continued attempts to throw doubt upon the sincerity of the peace policy which has been proclaimed and is being actively pursued by the Soviet Union.

Hence also the attempts to discern logical inconsistencies in the programmatic provisions of the CPSU by comparing certain formulas of the 1961 CPSU Programme with those of the new edition. Listed among the "logical contradictions" are the very features universally recognized as the merits of the 27th CPSU Congress documents: their viability, realism, their freedom from illusions and simplifications.

These propaganda exercises expose the inability of bourgeois theoreticians to find an alternative to the truly dialectical Marxist-Leninist study of modern capitalism. Proceeding from the thesis of the aggravation of the main conflict of capitalism—the conflict between its enormous productive forces and its exploitative production relations, which has plunged bourgeois society deep into structural crisis — Communists bring into focus the antagonisms which are tearing the capitalist system apart.

Certain Western propagandists assert that Communists criticize only certain "particulars," or even "trivial details" of state-monopoly capitalism rather than its main features. Among such "trivial details" the conservative paper Rheinischer Merkur includes mass unemployment in the West and the growing indebtedness of many developing countries. The same paper mentions another "particular" (not ignored in the analysis given by the CPSU programmatic documents to modern capitalism): the role played by bourgeois propaganda, by the entire system of the mass media which manipulates public opinion in the interests of the ruling class.

This list can be easily extended. It goes to corroborate the fact that the fundamental description of modern capitalism, of its basis and superstructure, found in the said documents, is perfectly accurate, as are their definitions of the political meaning and possible consequences of various antagonisms and of the problems they entail. This, perhaps, is the most vivid illustration of the sluggishness of conservative thinking, of its advocates' reluctance to recognize present-day realities.

This applies equally to the assessment of the dynamics of the social and political forces opposed to imperialism.

The Historic Mission of the Working Class

The broad programme for united anti-war and anti-imperialist action which Communists have put forward in the interests of mankind as a whole pivots on their principled assessment of the historical responsibility and the social role of the working class. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of a thorough analysis of the objective circumstances and factors the socio-political mission of the working class stems from.

Communists by no means underestimate the new economic and social processes that are at work to change the composition of the labour force. These are profound structural changes occurring in the midst of the working class at the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution: the broadening of its social composition, the rise of its professional and educational standards, and its attainment, against increasingly heavy odds, of new positions in various spheres of public life. The proletariat's new requirements, and the new qualities it acquires in the course of these changes, make all the more intolerable its dependent and oppressed position in production and society. This conflict gives rise to a contradiction inherent in capitalism which can neither check the historical advancement of the working class, nor give it full scope for its potential.

The documents and constructive ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress call for the merging of the effort to safeguard peace, to promote the interests of mankind as a whole by struggling for the triumph of the ideas of scientific socialism.

This call is not wishful thinking; it is based on an inexorably logical conclusion deriving from a strict scientific analysis of the modern world, torn as it is by contradictions but still largely integral. It is addressed to real and active public forces possessing truly enormous potential and capable of ameliorating the world situation. Furthermore this call is substantiated by a comprehensive and thoroughly thought-out programme for practical action. Finally, it is inspired by a great objective, humane in its very essence because in the final analysis it has a direct bearing on man, on his material welfare and spiritual life.

CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev said recently that the strategy of the 27th Party Congress consisted in putting into action the entire socio-economic potential of socialism, in imparting the necessary dynamic to our development and raising the living standard of the nation. We have drawn up bold plans, he said, and we are now busy delivering ourselves from all that is obsolete, from all that has not proved its worth, trying out new methods, looking for solutions equal to our current objectives. At the same time the Soviet leader stressed that these plans can be carried out only in conditions of peace. Therefore, our general foreign policy line is to make every effort to ensure a durable peace, and an end to the arms race.

Soviet Communists are well aware of the serious obstacles that confront them as they pursue this goal, one of them being anti-communism, justly described as the greatest folly of the 20th century for which mankind has already paid such a heavy and appalling price.

By their very content, by the spirit of truthfulness in which they were held, by their direct appeal to people's reason and conscience, the 27th CPSU Congress and the June plenary meeting of the Central Committee are helping people across the world—as are the subsequent actions taken by our Party at home and in the international arena and public appearances of Soviet leaders—to get rid of the spiritual poison of anti-communism, and attain the ideological potential mankind requires in order to solve, in its own vital interests, the key problems of our difficult and demanding age.

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Real Chances Not to Be Missed

The current session of the Geneva Disarmament Conference centres on the problems connected with curbing the nuclear arms race, attaining nuclear disarmament, preventing the spread of the arms race to outer space, and banning nuclear weapon tests. What is the situation at the conference? What role does it play in seeking solutions to the disarmament problem? What are the obstacles in the way of concrete negotiations? At the request of New Times, Izvestia correspondent Vladimir Kuznetsov put these questions to some of the conference participants. Their answers follow.

Victor Israelyan, the head of the U.S.S.R. delegation:

The complex state of affairs at the conference is due to the policy pursued by the West, especially the U.S., which is out of keeping with present-day realities. Their professed desire to promote disarmament is not backed by a practical readiness to work out concrete international agreements. One gets the impression that our partners are almost allergic to talks on such key issues as nuclear disarmament, the prevention of the arms race in outer space and the banning of nuclear weapon tests. Their argument against a practical dialogue is that these problems are supposedly to be dealt with at bilateral talks only. This is neither more nor less than disregard for the vital interests of the other states. Nuclear disarmament is vital to all countries, large and small.

Why can the conference not get down, for instance, to the elaboration of an agreement (or agreements) on keeping the arms race out of space? After all, all the nuclear powers and all the countries with space-vehicle launching capability are represented at it. In fact, they are negotiating solely the banning and destruction of chemical weapons.

On April 22 the Soviet Union came up with new major initiatives which make it possible promptly to draw up a convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons and the facilities for their production. Our proposals take into account the positions of many states, including that of the U.S. However, attempts are being made to block them. The fact that the United States and NATO have given the green light to the production of binary chemical weapons to be deployed in Western Europe is a cause for special concern. This queries the whole issue of control over the observance of the prospective international agreement.

The situation which has now taken shape at the conference makes it imperative for all states to exert vigorous efforts to change the course of world events for the better. Real chances are not to be missed; concrete measures must be taken to liven up all negotiations, bilateral and multilateral alike. Such is the stand taken by the Soviet Union. By following suit, our partners will facilitate progress towards the agreements.

Abdul Cader Shahul Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka:

This may sound ironic, but certain quarters seem to need reminding that we are living in the year the U.N. has proclaimed the International Year of Peace, and that the appropriate resolution was adopted at the U.N. General Assembly unanimously. At their Delhi meeting last April, the non-aligned countries' foreign ministers voiced their profound concern over the nuclear arms race and the prospect of ever newer weapons of mass destruction being developed. As early as twenty years ago Sri Lanka warned of the danger of the arms race in space. I spoke of it myself at a session of the General Assembly in 1966. And now new space weapon systems embodying the latest in high technology are being developed. No arguments will conceal the fact that the development of these weapons is beyond civil control. Lest the laboratory research projects being worked on across the Atlantic today should become an appalling reality tomorrow, we must prepare, with the help of the Disarmament Conference, an effective agreement guaranteeing a weapon-free space.

In the International Year of Peace we have witnessed General Secretary Gorbachev's creative new proposals of January 15, and a series of other initiatives. Such opportunities to safeguard peace are not to be missed. I am confident that the Soviet proposals mark a turning point and will lead to the conclusion of an agreement on reducing the present nuclear arsenals. In this context, putting an end to all nuclear tests and signing the appropriate agreement within the framework of the conference would be a reliable barrier to the further spread of nuclear weapons.

Ambassador Constant E. Clerckx, Belgium's permanent representative at the conference:

Belgium has been participating in the conference for eight years now. We attach great importance to it and seek to be instrumental in working out effective measures for disarmament, and providing conditions for eliminating certain kinds of weapons wherever possible. We have never concealed the difficulties involved in this effort, and have always stressed the need for joint action in the thorough preparation of decisions and compromises. The complete banning of chemical weapons remains, to my mind, a priority task.

Our approach is not mere altruism. It was on Belgian territory that this barbarous weapon was first used on April 22, 1915, killing more than 5,000 and maiming about 10,000. And that was not all. Chemical death haunted Belgium for a long time, and quite recently old German phosgene and mustard-gas shells went off at the army proving ground near Ypres claiming more lives —four Belgian sappers died, and the fifth was injured.

This is why my delegation favours expediting a multilateral convention on banning chemical weapons, simplifying the procedure of negotiations, and using all the opportunities offered by a unique forum such as the Disarmament Conference.

The Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States gave a new impetus to the talks. For its part the Soviet Union has put forward a series of proposals which, we think, show its desire to get things going. I am sure that the new proposals for banning chemical weapons tabled by the American and Soviet sides will help reach mutually acceptable means of verification and control, and the other provisions of the convention now being worked out. ■

A panoramic view of the Cuban capital.

The Banner of Moncada

It has become a tradition with us Cubans to mark July 26, the Day of the National Uprising, by assessing results and taking critical stock of what has been achieved. This is how we are celebrating this year's 33rd anniversary of the storming of the Moncada barracks and the barracks in the town of Bayamo in the east of the country, two heroic events which ushered in a new phase in the nationwide movement for genuine independence.

Cuba was then plagued by the terrible problems common to most countries in the Caribbean. Cuban society was characterized by U.S. political and economic dominion, industrial and agricultural stagnation, illiteracy and appalling health services, while workers and peons were brutally persecuted for even the smallest attempt to uphold their rights.

The rebels were led by a young lawyer, Fidel Castro Ruz. After his arrest, he was tried by a court that was completely subservient to the dictator Batista, who had usurped power in 1952. At the trial Fidel made his famous "History Will Prove Me Right" speech, furnishing a profound analysis of the problems then besetting the island.

Though the storming of the Santiago de Cuba and Bayamo barracks failed, they were landmarks in our struggle for freedom. The storming of Moncada heralded the coming triumph of Cuba's revolution. Though socialism was not yet on the agenda, the heroes of Moncada were already thinking of shaping a new society. They called for the solution of agrarian and housing problems, industrialization and advanced education and health services. The memorable events of 1953 brought Fidel Castro to the fore as leader of the Cuban people.

Five years, five months and five days later, on January 1, 1959, the Cuban revolution triumphed. In its victory the echoes of Moncada were heard. The convictions of the heroes, who had been prepared to die in the attempt to storm Batista's strongholds in 1953, were realized in the crucial reforms brought about by the victorious revolution, the agrarian reform law and the nationalization of large enterprises, banks and foreign trade.

The republic's paramount task in the first few years after the revolution was summed up in one short word "Survive!" The U.S. had ringed the country with the economic blockade. At home it had to overcome the resistance of counterrevolutionaries. In that hour of trial the people showed their high level of class consciousness; they threw their weight behind the revolution, and Cuba held out. Invaluable help came from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Then came the ordeal by fire in April 1961, when CIA mercenaries landed in the Bay of Pigs. Yet it took only 72 hours to crush them. Cuba continued to stride confidently forwards along the path of reform. The sceptics and ill-wishers who had maliciously predicted that the revolution would not survive against the overwhelming odds on the side of its powerful northern neighbour were proved wrong.

The people of Cuba gradually consolidated the economy. The country's Communist Party grew and cemented its ranks. Key phases in our post-revolutionary history are associated with its congresses, amongst which the recent, Third Congress has a special place. It was emphasized there that alongside the successful development of several branches of the economy that had exceeded the 1981-85 five-year-plan targets, there had been difficulties and shortcomings impeding progress.

Over the five-year period, the GNP had averaged an annual increase of 7.3 per cent. Per capita consumption had gone up by an annual 2.8 per cent, while consumption from public funds had risen by 7.1 per cent. Average monthly earnings have grown by 26.4 per cent.

The Third Congress discussed the draft of a new Party programme, which has now been put to a nationwide discussion. It will be endorsed at the final meeting of the congress scheduled for this coming December.

The draft emphasizes that the Cuban Communist Party's ultimate goal is to complete the building of socialism and shape a communist society. The country's socio-economic advance is to be accelerated and the efficiency of industry and farming boosted through the broader application of the best scientific and technological achievements.

Steelmen from the Lenin plant in Soviet Azerbaijan having their picture taken with mates from the Antillana de Acero plant in Cuba after a "friendship melt."

Photos by TASS and P. Bogomolov

The draft programme places higher demands on the economy, the social sphere, culture, education and science. The political structure of society is to be further improved. Cuba's record of achievements in the health and education services is well known and the task now in hand is, while promoting these services, to score equally impressive results in other spheres as well. In this way we shall discharge the debt we owe to the memory of Moncada's fallen and to history.

Teresa FERNANDEZ-COCA
Prensa Latina Correspondent

How the Helsinki agreements are put into practice

The Results and Outlook

NIKOLAI CHETVERIKOV
Chairman of the Board of the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency

Never before has culture been so important to society. Life is unthinkable today without books, music, theatre and the fine arts, not to mention the technology that ensures the mass promulgation of spiritual values.

Our country attaches great importance to cooperation in the humanitarian and cultural fields in strict accordance with the Helsinki Final Act (the so-called "third basket"). These problems have also occupied a place of prominence in the Soviet Union's recent foreign policy initiatives including the proposal concerning the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

An interesting and fruitful exchange of ideas and experience in this field took place in Leningrad where the heads of the copyright organizations of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the G.D.R., Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia gathered for their conference.

Marking the tenth anniversary of such forums, this conference (the eighth in succession) proved to be crucial in that it particularly stressed the importance of establishing cooperation between national copyright organizations on a higher level, proceeding from the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, as well as of the congresses of the Communist and workers' parties of fraternal countries.

As is well known, the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency plays an important part in international cultural exchange. It was founded by artists' unions, along with a number of government institutions and public organizations in September 1973, soon after the Soviet Union joined the Universal Copyright Convention.

The chief function of the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency is to observe the moral and financial rights of Soviet and foreign authors when using their works, thus favouring the creation and dissemination of intellectual values; to promote in every possible way cultural exchange and the widening of the dialogue between nations in the interests of mutual spiritual enrichment and the enhancement of mutual trust and confidence. The U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency supports and develops stable business contacts with over 1,000 partners in 70 countries. The total volume of exports and imports of copyrights since the founding of the agency has amounted (including musical, dramatic and small-format music works) to over 200,000 titles.

The Leningrad conference examined the results of cooperation between copyright organizations in the fraternal countries.

In our exchange of literary works with foreign countries over 63 per cent of export and 55 per cent of import contracts are with socialist states. In the last few years alone the agency has signed about 28,000 export and import contracts for the publication of nearly 44,000 book titles with its counterparts in Bulgaria, Hungary, the G.D.R., Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

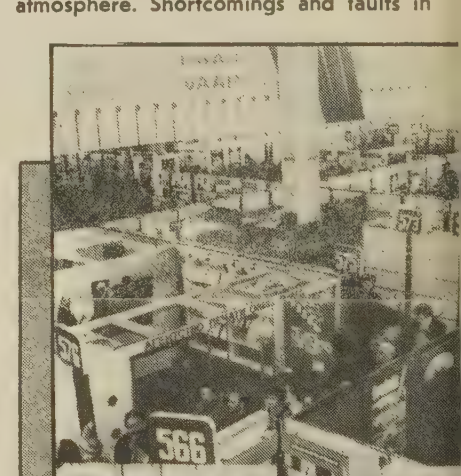
In the last five years, in accordance with contracts signed by the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency, the fraternal countries have published over 17.5 million copies of books by Soviet authors on socio-political subjects and about 2 million copies on topical scientific and technological problems.

The public in the fraternal countries has shown great interest in the publication of the works of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev put out by Partizdat Publishers in Bulgaria, the G.D.R. Dietz Verlag, the Czechoslovak Svoboda Publishers, and Kossuth Publishers in Hungary. Some other publishing houses will also put out his collected works in the nearest future.

The great interest of our partners in the socialist states in works devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution is naturally gratifying; 157 contracts for the publication of such works have already been signed. A multivolume series on the lives of prominent revolutionaries, a collection of works of fiction and journalistic writings entitled "The Year 1917. Russia. Petrograd" and an album "The Revolution in Photographs" are to be published in Bulgaria; a book entitled "The International Communist Movement" and 53 other editions are to appear in Czechoslovakia; Yugoslavia is to issue a two-volume biography of Lenin.

The Soviet Union, in its turn, is putting out increasing numbers of works by political and public figures, scientists and journalists from the socialist states.

The Leningrad conference was held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. Shortcomings and faults in the work of copyright organizations were soberly criticized. It was noted inter alia that the tasks of socialist economic integration formulated in the comprehensive programme of scientific and technological progress in the CMEA member countries up to the year 2000 demanded a qualitatively new approach to the exchange of scientific and technical literature. Many participants in the conference stressed that in



VAAP, the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency, is a co-sponsor of the now traditional Moscow International Book Fairs, the last one of which attracted 3,300 organizations and firms from 100 countries. Some 2,800 copyright contracts were signed there through the agency of VAAP. Seen here is a section of this highly representative exhibition.

the present tense international climate it was particularly important to do our utmost on the ideological front and to offer Western publishers works that vividly, fully and convincingly reveal the genuine humanism of the socialist system and its dedication to the ideas of peace and social progress.

We attach great importance to the dissemination abroad of books that explain the CPSU home and foreign policies and give a picture of the socialist way of life. Bourgeois mass media impede the promulgation of accurate information on the socialist world in every possible way. Nevertheless the interest of readers in bourgeois countries in our literature, particularly political books, is constantly growing.

Nuclear hysteria and the whipping up of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in the U.S. and elsewhere in the West result in some firms reneging on contracts that have already been signed. There have also been cases when the conditions of the contracts are not observed.

At the same time some Western publishing houses such as Plaza and Janes (Spain), Philippe Sers and Editions du Regard (France), Thames and Hudson (Britain) and Idea books (Italy) have shown interest in bringing out multivolume anthologies and series of specially commissioned works on Soviet art.

We, for our part, are taking measures to increase the publication in the Soviet Union of works by progressive Western writers who truthfully depict the life of working people and expose the aggressive policies and myths created by bourgeois propaganda.

The Leningrad conference has revealed the existence of great potential for the further development of cultural contacts between the socialist and developing countries. We consider it important to render assistance to young states in the formation of their own copyright organizations.

The participants in the Leningrad conference outlined concrete measures for the further improvement of all-round cooperation and confirmed the readiness of their organizations to increase the effectiveness of cultural and economic ties in every possible way, as well as to extend the exchange of experience.

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● BANGLADESH

Despite the Obstacles

A Bangladesh trade union delegation composed of R. Momotajuddin, chairman of the Bangladesh national alliance of labour, and Mesbahuddin Ahmed, its general secretary, visited the U.S.S.R. recently.

In a New Times interview Mesbahuddin Ahmed said:

"We had long intended to visit the U.S.S.R., indeed had very much wanted to come to Moscow even earlier, but our government had placed obstacles in our way. The leadership of the U.S.S.R. All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions suggested that we send trade union militants to Moscow to study and exchange knowhow, and we, for our part, would have welcomed our Soviet friends to Dacca and other cities. Meanwhile, however, our government turned a deaf ear to all our requests. Protests do not help. We will continue to fight to end such discrimination against Soviet delegations, as their coming to Bangladesh would only serve to strengthen peace and cooperation between our two peoples.

"Our trade union movement cannot so far be described as a very powerful one. This is because the working class is numerically not very large and, secondly, martial law has deprived the people of their basic democratic rights and freedoms.

"We have a plethora of trade unions, often with several functioning at an enterprise, even a small one. You will easily realize that such fragmentation does not at all serve to cement our ranks. There are only a few hundred thousand workers in these unions, which is only a drop in the ocean for Bangladesh with its population of almost 100 million. Why can't the working masses find a union to join! To establish a new union it is first of all necessary to gain official permission, which is by no means always granted.

"Recently, however, there have been certain changes. In 1982, when martial law was promulgated and union activity outlawed, the working masses came out in a united front to demand democratic rights, better working conditions and higher pay. A series of strikes was mounted and by 1984 the government had been obliged to give in. The unions were revived. The struggle for democratization is gaining momentum and may now be called one of the most powerful movements since the republic came into being.

"Our national alliance consists overwhelmingly of textile and jute workers. As for the country's working class generally, though numerically small, it is rapidy acquiring prestige. It knows what it wants, and its basic objectives are peace and a better economic position. In our efforts for peace and disarmament we organize demonstrations and seminars, and mark the annual Day of Trade Union Action for Peace on September 1 with meetings and rallies.

"It should no doubt be emphasized that in Bangladesh the working masses live in such conditions that their basic concern is to earn their daily bread and feed themselves and their usually large families. No wonder the A-bomb, cruise missiles and Pershings in Europe do not arouse as much concern among most of them as elsewhere. But all take the U.S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean to heart. We have appealed to labour federations in all South Asian countries to act jointly to make the Indian Ocean a zone free of every kind of military presence.

"We heartily support the latest Soviet peace bids and the Soviet proposals to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. In the U.S.S.R. the working class is directly involved in government and tackles tasks of economic and social advancement nationally, not to mention at the place of work. In this process the trade unions play a tremendous part."

V. GALIN

INVITATION TO A FUNERAL

Curiously enough, in the spate of comment on the situation in South Africa we find the following remark: "Apartheid is dead. Let's have the funeral for that." The invitation comes from U.S. Republican Senator Jesse Helms. Incidentally, South Africa is a republic ruled by men as white as the Senator,

No wedding dress, this—with South Africans, white is the colour of mourning.

and possessed of a very republican outlook. Cordially welcoming the like-minded gentleman from North Carolina recently they told him everything he wanted to hear, and showed him everything he wanted to see, but as there was, naturally, no apartheid in evidence in the drawing rooms where this took place, the Senator now says apartheid has commended its soul to the Lord above. If apartheid had a soul to commend, doubtless the Lord above would accept it. However, it has long been known that racism is soulless. Apartheid, as can be gleaned from observations made by persons other than the Senator, does exist and the Lord above has first-hand knowledge of it.

The nazis built gas chambers in Auschwitz. Apartheid is more economical and rational. It pumps gas into the churches, where people, whose shacks have been razed to the ground, sleep on the floor. That occurred in the township of Kwathema, and several babies died.

The funerals of apartheid victims take place throughout South Africa daily.

Theuns Swanepoel, nicknamed "The Animal," ordered Soweto schoolchildren to be shot down on June 16, 1976. Though retired, he is still hale and hearty. He says that he couldn't care less were it necessary to kill a hundred, if not ten thousand blacks to restore law and order.

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HORGOS REBORN

The Xinhua news agency reports from Urumchi in Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region in China:

New times have arrived for the 500 residents of the frontier village of Horgos on the border with the U.S.S.R. A mere three years ago it was so insignificant that even cartographers ignored it. But now that the checkpoint has been reopened on the Sino-Soviet border, things have changed.

Heavy lorries roar down the village street bringing in steel, cement and machinery and taking bolts of cloth, wool, furs and farm produce to the Soviet Union.

When Horgos was reopened to foreign visitors in November 1983, it soon became a tourist "must" on the old Silk Route that once linked China with Europe. Its ramshackle huts are giving way to modern buildings housing a bank, a post office, a hotel, a restaurant, a shop, a customs office and quarantine and transit services. A school, an outpatient clinic, a hotel catering for foreigners, a cinema, and a dance hall are under construction. To improve the look of the streets the residents have planted shady trees and laid down flower beds. Local officials say this fast-growing locality will become a centre of commerce and tourism in the region.

Last year the amount of Soviet and Chinese goods passing through Horgos reached a record 120,000 tons. "We hope this year will see still more," one official observed, "as, like the Soviet Union, we seek to expand trade across the border."

● STATISTICS

ONLY ONE IN FOUR

Last year one in four American families was victimized by criminals, the U.S. Department of Justice reports. This, it adds, is the lowest figure for the last ten years. However, these official statistics do not include murder or repeated attacks on the same family.

WILL THE CHANGE HELP?

British Leyland has changed its name for the second time in the past eight years. From this month on it will be known as the Rover Group PLC. The motorcar firm has long been in the red, due, in particular, to cutthroat competition from abroad. Last year it closed with a loss of upward of £110 million. The old name was also associated in the public mind with wholesale layoffs and numerous industrial setbacks. AP says the firm hopes thus to improve its image.

THE MISADVENTURES OF THE MERMAID

The bronze figure off the Danish coast representing the Little Mermaid of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale has suffered many vicissitudes. In 1964 she had her head chopped off, while a couple of years ago her right arm was removed. Only recently it was learned that the decapitators were Canadian servicemen who,via an army base in West Germany, smuggled home this vital component of the Danish national symbol. The media note that one of the desecrators is still serving with the Canadian armed forces.

MONTANK, NOT MONTAND NOW

When Yves Montand was young and idealistic, he sang a pacifist ditty about a soldier going off to the wars. But now that he is no longer young and has lost his idealism, he has changed his tune. Not long ago he toured the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, where he sang, climbed onto a tank, perhaps one of those that mowed down Palestinians in Sabrah and Shatilah and, posing for cameramen, placed the helmet of an occupationist tankman on his silvery head.

Having "eavesdropped" on Montand's chat with a tankman, Patrick Besson retells all in L'Humanité.

"What a beautiful place Transjordan is! I simply can't understand why in France they call these places 'occupied territories.'"

"Well, we occupied them. . . ."

"So what?"

"Well, you see, even in Israel not everyone believes the occupation to be a good thing."

"All right, now tell me, did you like my 'Song of the Partisans' in Jerusalem?"

"Not very much."

"Why not?"

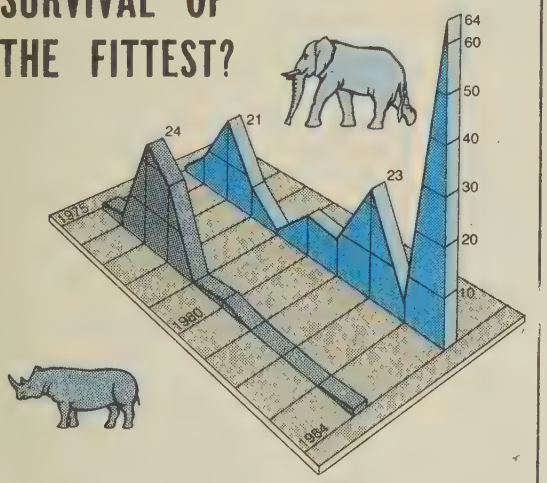
"I felt awkward. After all, it's a Resistance song, but we are an army of occupation."

"But damn it, you're resisting the Arabs, aren't you?!"

What can one add? Nothing, except to dub the helmeted chansonnier Yves Montank.

● MAN AND NATURE

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST?



The sprawling Serengeti National Park in Tanzania gives refuge to lions, leopards, elephants, giraffes, antelopes, zebras, numerous other animals and countless flocks of birds. However, of all of them, the biggest animals, the elephants and rhinos, are the most threatened by poachers who kill them for their tusks and horns. As a result, since the 1970s the rhino population has dropped to about 4 per cent of its previous size. The graph reproduced here from the National Geographic magazine shows how many animals killed by poachers have been found. However, specialists say, the remains of far greater numbers go undiscovered.

● ART FOR ART'S SAKE?

GLOBE REVIVAL

Perhaps at some time in the future, we may attend performances of Shakespeare's plays on the site of the Globe Theatre, where the great playwright trod the boards four hundred years ago. This has been on the cards since the London Southwark Borough Council agreed to surrender a one-acre site on the Thames' south bank. However, before the new Globe Theatre is built, the project's moving spirit, U.S. actor-director Sam Wanamaker, has to collect no less than $18 million. Up to now Shakespeare's transatlantic admirer had been cold-shouldered by the borough councillors, who believed it more advantageous to hold onto the site for development as a road sweepers' depot.

● THE FACE OF "DEMOCRACY"

HOW MUCH DOES A VOTE COST?

To secure a parliamentary majority, Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party used bribes and the services of the mafia, local news media report. Depending on the place of residence, a vote cost anywhere between 5,000 and 10,000 yen. The millions of yen lavished by LDP candidates were used to buy up votes wholesale by blocks and streets. The recent elections, the Tokyo Mainichi points out, have admitted to the country's legislature "men who break the laws they themselves make."

● HYPOTHESES

SO THAT IS HOW THEY STAY YOUNG

The famous pianist Vladimir Horowitz is 82. Claudio Arrau is 83, Mieczyslaw Horszowski, 94. Yet all three continue to play virtuoso concertos at their recitals. The great maestro Toscanini was still conducting two years before he died at the age of 89. The celebrated cellist Pablo Casals entertained audiences almost up to the age of 90, while Andres Segovia, at 93, has not abandoned his guitar. Is it pure chance that many top performers in the world of music preserve their creative ability to a ripe old age, London Sunday Times medical expert Oliver Gillie asks.

According to Birmingham University staff, the paper says, people who dedicate themselves wholly to creative work are still in full command of their talents, despite advanced age. Many musicians look younger than their years, apparently due to the adrenalin that stress generates. One more explanation has been afforded by pianist Murray Perahia, who observes that all great musicians "love what they are doing. That is very clear from their music-making. Maybe that has something to do with it."

Security for the Europeans, Security for Everyone

European détente, Soviet-American relations and other current international issues were the subject of a recent discussion in the popular Studio Nine programme on Soviet television. The broadcast evoked a widespread interest. Below is a transcript of the discussion led by TV commentator Valentin ZORIN.

ZORIN — Good evening. We meet here again in the Ostankino TV centre's studio for a discussion of topical issues in world politics.

But let me first introduce the participants in this discussion: Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Britain and former British Foreign Secretary, Academician Georgi Arbatov, director of the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Valentin Falin, Chairman of the Board of the Novosti Press Agency.

David Owen and Egon Bahr are in Moscow for a meeting of the working group of the Palme Commission. This international commission, set up in 1980 by a group of statesmen and public leaders in different countries and led until his recent tragic death by Swedish Premier Olof Palme, has won great prestige throughout the world. It is made up of people of different political views and tendencies but united by the idea of building a world that is secure for all. This activity has earned the commission considerable international prestige. Four years ago the commission published a long paper entitled "Common Security." It evoked keen interest and was supported by diverse sections of the international community. The commission is continuing its work. I would like to begin our discussion with a question to Mr Bahr. I know, Mr Bahr, that the deliberations of the commission are confidential. But please excuse my professional curiosity. What can you say about the deliberations at the meeting that has just ended in Moscow?

BAHR — It was a preparatory meeting for a meeting we plan to have in Budapest late in October. It will concentrate on questions of European security. I think we rather successfully prepared our paper on European security. This was our intention, and we achieved it.

ZORIN — My next question is how you, as members of the Palme Commission, understand European security. Mr Owen, could you elaborate?

OWEN — Well, there are different views, but I think there is a unanimous concept that we are at a watershed in terms of arms control and disarmament. Either we can go forward to some very important substantive agreements, predominantly between the United States and the Soviet Union, or we can end up with no agreements, and the whole of the 1980s will be a period of the gathering arms race and sad relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

None of us wants this to happen. I personally am rather optimistic. I think there will be a summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in Washington next December. I don't think they will make a very substantive agreement, but I think they will make a limited agreement. And I'm hopeful of a major summit in Moscow next year where you may get real cuts in strategic nuclear weaponry.

ZORIN (addressing Arbatov) — Do you wish to add anything?

ARBATOV — David Owen used the word "watershed." This is so indeed. The present situation can be viewed from various angles. It is like a long menu of events from which one or other dish can be chosen and, depending on what you have, the taste in the mouth will be either bitter, sour sweet or sweet.

Indeed, on the one hand, the dangers are increasing, the arms race is escalating and tension growing, regional conflicts are continuing and even being exacerbated, and the regime of even modest agreements concluded in the 1970s with great difficulty and painstaking efforts is being eroded. On the other hand, the realization by public opinion that such a situation can no longer be tolerated is today greater than ever and, I think, never before have so many people clearly understood that nuclear war and the nuclear arms race are senseless. They are beginning to draw this conclusion and, I think, the past few years have given some good lessons in this respect. This is creating the need for action and the possibility of action. The need, because of the existing dangers, and the possibility, because there is a platform for action, there are views and public sentiments exerting pressure on governments. This is especially true of Europe where détente has not actually died. We had a fruitful discussion on this question, and I hope that the plenary meeting of the Palme Commission in Budapest next October will make its contribution, though of course it is impossible for the commission or any other group of people to assume such a burden of responsibility. This task calls for the efforts of all sensible political parties, politicians, governments and the public in Europe.

FALIN — I would like to clarify one point. I don't think it's quite right simply to state that agreements and limited agreements were concluded in the 1970s. The main thing is that a mechanism for drawing up agreements was worked out in those years.

ARBATOV — I would call it an infrastructure.

FALIN — That's right, a certain in-

frastructure and, what is most valuable, the principle was developed. The agreements concluded then were regarded not as separate acts but as a system of actions, as a process. That is why SALT-1 should have been followed by SALT-2, SALT-2 by SALT-3, and so on.

Of course, one can always begin at the beginning, first by agreeing on principles.

ARBATOV — Well, they say hope makes a good breakfast, but it's worth nothing as a supper.

FALIN — That's right. But, on the other hand, we should not lose the important gains made in the 1970s. It was, in fact, agreed then that there can be no two securities, especially in Europe. There can be only one security, equal both for Western and Eastern Europe.

ZORIN — One of the serious problems today is, I think, the gap, the discrepancy that often arises between the tasks facing mankind and the approach of very influential circles to the solution of these tasks.

Mr Owen, what do you think about this?

OWEN — Well, perceptions do differ. There is no doubt about this. One of the problems of the arms race control negotiations is that the shapes of the armouries are different. In the Soviet Union you've had a tendency to go for large land-based missiles with big warheads, whereas in the United States they've tended to go for submarines with missiles of very considerable accuracy but not quite such large warheads. These should be brought together in getting an arms control agreement. After all, arms control agreements are not worth the paper they are written on unless each side feels at the end of the day that its security is being enhanced, not weakened. You have to achieve this balance. I very much agree with what you've said about the structures established in the 1970s. I think the ABM (anti-ballistic missile) treaty signed in 1972 is extremely important. We must not see that broken up over the next year or so. I think that, though President Reagan did not like the SALT-2 treaty he inherited from President Carter, until recently he had stuck within its limits, and he may stick within its limits further, although he said, I think wrongly, that he might break these limits. I don't think it necessary to do so, because I think we can replace SALT-2 with a different strategic arms agreement.

But perceptions do differ. There are different views as to whether or not the United States thinks the Soviet Union is violating some parts of the agreement, and the Soviet Union thinks the United States is violating. We cannot appoint a referee here, as in football, when somebody says that is or not a violation. Both sides have to reach agreement.

I think after the meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan in Geneva the world heaved a sigh of relief and felt the warmth of the fireside chat. The problem now is, as I understand General Secretary Gorbachev's view, he does not see much point in going to Washington unless the next talks are going to produce something substantive. I have sympathy with that view. I don't think the world wants another generalized chat. I think it wants to see progress. What we've got to see towards the end of the year is the process of negotiations and agreements being set back on track.

ZORIN — Mr Owen, you've spoken of two perceptions here. The two great powers cannot naturally have one and the same perception. What I had in mind in putting my question is that perceptions of the pre-nuclear age are not applicable in our nuclear epoch, and in this nuclear epoch we often find ourselves dealing with old stereotypes.

OWEN — Well, I didn't understand the question. I think that's true then. Before nuclear weapons came into existence we used to think in terms of wars that were won or lost. But after Hiroshima and Nagasaki the world began to realize that it had entered a period of a completely new type of war in which there would be no winners.

There was a tendency in the 1970s and early 1980s when the military on both sides, particularly perhaps on the Western side, began to talk openly in terms of winning a war. One of the things the Palme Commission has done and one of the things that came out of the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting was that there could be no winners in a nuclear war. If we get that back on track and everybody accepts there can be no winners in a nuclear war, then nuclear war must not occur and we must reduce nuclear weapons and build confidence so that eventually—I think it will take a very long time—we can get rid of nuclear weapons.

BAHR — Let me make some additional remarks. I think the situation is rather simple: either we live in security on both sides or we die together. It is as simple as that. So I think we have to organize a security that would not demand changes in our societies. Why should you prefer coffee to tea? The main thing is that we have to live in security. This would mean we should not call for changes in our societies while organizing security. When the General Secretary came to Geneva, we did not expect him to praise the merits of capitalism. Nor the other way round. Reagan did not become a fellow-traveller of the Communists. The only thing mankind has to demand of the two big powers is to ensure security. And this needs a new thinking. Even if the two powers agreed on important formulae in Geneva, we would not see them implemented. How to give effect to these agreements? Real changes in policy are needed for this purpose. I have to admit that to a remarkable degree the Soviet Union has changed its position in that direction. What I want is that instead of testing new weapons the West should test General Secretary Gorbachev, and see if he practises what he preaches. That's it.

ARBATOV — I would like to add to this. You know, I think that it is good, of course, that it has been recognized that nuclear war should not be waged and that it cannot be won. But it depends on an admission that it is better to live than to die. I am not trying to get at you, Egon. But when a person is told that he must give up smoking to survive, he does not always give up. He continues to smoke. And in politics we are now dealing with a situation when I think there is no one, barring lunatics, who would consciously have in his safe a plan according to which at such-and-such an hour he would push the buttons and start a nuclear war.

But it is important to make yet another step in this new thinking of the nuclear age, to understand that many forms of customary political behaviour are no longer acceptable. They have become a luxury which we can no longer afford. Such as the arms race, such as the absence of dialogue, such as conflicts that grow over the years, regionally. And nobody does anything in earnest to eradicate them because we may find ourselves drawn into war. This has happened in history more than once, quite irrespective of our desire.

And now the main question. Indeed, it was agreed and everybody knows that nuclear war cannot be waged, cannot be won. But conclusions should be drawn from this. And time is running out. Time works against us, it is becoming increasingly difficult to reach agreement. And conclusions from this should be drawn for, so to speak, our daily behaviour. We must act in such a way as to have a firm guarantee against this.

FALIN — If I may add. We must have in mind that not only policy or political admissions influence military strategy and the development of the armed forces. The development of the armed forces, and especially the development of new weapons systems, influence

policy, the political perceptions of the other side, all the political and other processes taking place in the world.

So for admissions, however unquestionable, to play a real role in strengthening peace, in creating a lasting, stable climate on Earth, they must be followed by material, absolutely clear-cut steps. And of immense importance here is what Mr Owen has already said, what is recorded in the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties—to devise measures that are necessary in the military field proceeding not from national perceptions of security but from commonly held perceptions of security.

If each country starts formulating its military policy proceeding only from its understanding of its own security and the arrangement of security for others, then there cannot be and will not be any agreements.

Now we must take the next step which we proposed at our latest Party Congress—to recognize and use as a basis of all our actions the premise that today no problems, even security problems, can be resolved by military means, that there exists only one approach for this—the political approach, political accords, the negotiating table.

ZORIN — It appears to me that the new proposals concerning security in Europe, made recently by the Warsaw Treaty countries in Budapest, have a direct bearing on the subject of our discussion.

Mr Owen, what is your view of these proposals, do you think that they create a real possibility for strengthening European security?

OWEN — Yes, but I think this is the first step. We've been talking for 15 years in Vienna in what you call the mutual force reduction talks, and we call the mutual and balanced force reduction talks which are basically trying to reach reductions in Central Europe. And I think we are very close to an agreement. Before we go into the much wider concept which was envisaged in the Warsaw Pact proposals, I think we should get a first-stage agreement in Vienna. And I think that would have some value, even though the reductions are very small, they are only talking about one per cent of the overall forces. Underneath it is an agreement on verification and inspection, and so you can ensure that both sides don't cheat.

We've got to be quite frank about it. The problem with these agreements is that there is not yet sufficient trust between nations, and therefore we must have very strong verification procedures where both sides can be quite confident the other doesn't cheat. If we reach an agreement in Vienna, I think it is possible to go on to much wider talks which will involve more weapon systems and a much wider area—from the Atlantic to the Urals. Personally I think there is much merit in direct discussions between the Warsaw Treaty organization and the North Atlantic alliance. These two military blocs exist. They have an infrastructure, and it's time, instead of planning to fight each other, they started a dialogue on arms control and disarmament involving both conventional and tactical, small-range nuclear weapons which in many ways are the most dangerous, in fact, I think, the ones which could trigger a war more than intercontinental ballistic missiles.

ZORIN — You would like...

BAHR — I subscribe to every word said by my friend David Owen. But I would like to return for a second to the overall situation. I think that from the time in January of this year, when Gorbachev set out his programme for the complete elimination of nuclear arms, we have been demanding that this programme be supplemented to include conventional armaments. We have said that if the importance, the value of nuclear arms is reduced, we thereby increase the value of conventional weapons. Now we have before us the entire set, the package of the Soviet proposals. And I must say that the extension of the territory about which the talks are being conducted—this territory now stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals—also gives us, in the West, much satisfaction because this too was demanded by Western Europe. I must also say, as a representative of a country that does not have nuclear arms, that I believe that our influence at the talks on these arms between the two great powers is rather limited. But we are interested, and we possess a certain influence in matters concerning conventional armaments. We continue to maintain our former stand concerning nuclear arms. We would like to get rid of them. But now we are entering a stage in which Europe can play a special role and can take the lead in these talks. I also agree with David Owen that these talks should be concentrated as much as possible on the real armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty alliances in Europe. Of course, we should not ignore other areas as well. But Central Europe is the main problem. And this problem will have to be resolved by way of creating a rather balanced situation between the two sides. One should not forget that the real danger exists precisely in the central region. For this reason we should combine the solution of problems in Central Europe with problems concerning Europe as a whole.

ARBATOV — This is correct. But I think that if we are to build a bridge to the Vienna talks and reflect in this context on the proposals made by the Warsaw Treaty, we will see, to our common regret, that the treaty is ready after 13 years of negotiations in Vienna, but has not been concluded. If it is concluded it will apply, as has already been noted in our discussion, to less than one per cent of the armed forces.

I think, therefore, that these proposals are not simply an extension, so to say, of the geography of all this but also an impulse to new thinking, to a new approach to security problems in Central Europe, and it is necessary to think on a much bigger and more serious scale, and of course much more quickly.

FALIN — This question, evidently, is of a somewhat more comprehensive nature. For when Mr Egon Bahr says that the Federal Republic of Germany is not a nuclear power, this is relative. For nuclear proliferation does not mean only the appearance of new states possessing such arms. Proliferation means also the deployment of nuclear arms on foreign territories. And as to the concentration of nuclear potential, of nuclear arms on the territory of the F.R.G., I think it would be hard to find any region of the world where there are more such weapons.

So the question of the place of the Federal Republic in a nuclear confrontation, I would say, is not so closed to discussion as it would now seem. This does not preclude but, on the contrary, supplements and emphasizes the importance of the proposals that have been made, and which are a further development, incidentally, of our former proposal.

I will remind you that some time ago the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed to conclude a treaty on the non-first-use of both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons in the zone of operation of the Helsinki Final Act.

And now we are proposing a considerable, substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, by 25 per cent and more, with the withdrawal from the area of these reductions not only of individual units but also of whole formations, so as to balance the forces in Europe and thereby also to balance forces in the world.

When speaking here in connection with the visit by President Mitterrand, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "...the Soviet side is prepared, if we have a surplus in comparison with the NATO countries in any area, to get rid of this surplus. But we expect that the same will be done by our Western partners as well, that this will be a real balance, that such a reduction will not damage the security of either side. We have

not sought and are not seeking superiority for ourselves. And one must proceed from this main point in order to understand how sincere and substantial our proposals are."

BAHR — Could I make some remarks on what Valentin Falin said? First of all, I regard as simply tragic the situation of which we are witnesses. Had the Soviet Union made its present proposals concerning nuclear weapons, say, five years earlier, we would never have had the cruise missiles and Pershings in my country and other Western countries. This is a regrettable fact and I would like to say explicitly that the new Soviet position came late. But it really is an excellent position on the basis of which to start real talks. And indeed we are now living at a time that demands extremely responsible decisions. And something else. What Gorbachev said on the occasion of Mitterrand's visit to Moscow is really extremely interesting and provides additional material for discussions and talks. The point is that, in our opinion, the Warsaw Treaty has a certain advantage in conventional armaments. Gorbachev said that he is ready to reduce this advantage to a level ensuring approximate parity. This, of course, also includes the other side—if the West has superior numbers in any area it must also accept reductions. This is a really good proposal. In principle, I completely agree with this concept.

ZORIN — I would only like to say that "too late" means something that cannot be remedied.

ARBATOV — The issue is different. I think that here Egon's memory has slightly failed him. He has an excellent memory, but here it has failed him a bit. Five years ago means June 1981. At the time we had no talks with the U.S., no dialogue.

FALIN — Seven years. Egon means seven years ago.

ARBATOV — Yes, but at the time there was no place where this question could be raised at all. America proceeded from totally different matters.

BAHR — Well, let's say in 1982.

ARBATOV — In 1982, I am sure, they would have found some move, just as they have now, to reject the Soviet proposal. They would have found it. But discussing what could have happened is most fruitless. The subjunctive mood is unknown to history. We cannot use this approach.

OWEN — It was also triggered by the SS-20 deployment in the Soviet Union in 1977-78. But I think what is interesting is the whole question of why the United States has nuclear installations in Europe. And here, I think, we have to go first to history. The Soviet Union is a European power, and it's also an Asian power. The United States was twice involved in European wars: in 1917 and, again, in 1941. It was difficult for the Soviet Union to understand—but that has been part of our security since 1945—that the United States has stayed in Europe. If the United States took out its land-based missiles from Europe, I think that is perfectly possible—it's important that the Soviet Union has recognized this now—it would have to take out its land-based missiles a long way back, up to the Urals. We have now got agreement on that. The Soviet Union is also increasingly accepting the fact that the French and British will have nuclear weapons. It is a small nuclear force, a minimum deterrent. But this means that if the United States pulls out its land-based missiles, there is still some European potential. It's not a counterbalance to the Soviet missiles, but some European element in nuclear deterrence, as well as yours. We are also becoming more tolerant of the recognition that the Soviet Union needs to deploy missiles on its Asian front. All this has changed in the last year. There is now more understanding of your Asian anxieties, the French and British position, of the anxieties that lie behind the total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Europe. I suspect now we're going to reach agreement. It probably won't take out the U.S. and Soviet missiles at once. This can be done in two stages. But the present proposal to take out the Pershing 2 missiles and to keep the SS-20 and cruise missiles at a reduced level and then follow with the complete reduction is very important, particularly if we accept Egon Bahr's point that while we reduce missiles and nuclear warheads we must pay very great attention to the establishment of confidence in the conventional balance so that nobody can steal an advantage. This makes me more optimistic. If only we can get political leaders, particularly President Reagan, to come to the decision that we must have negotiations. I don't think we're going to learn that until November or December of this year. That's the point when we discover whether President Reagan is going to pass over the watershed into an era of arms control. We never knew that of President Nixon. But he and President Brezhnev crossed out the threshold in 1971. I think the leaders are going to cross out the threshold in 1986-87.

ARBATOV — Nixon did not have Perle, he did not have Weinberger, and many others for that matter.

OWEN — You all thought that Nixon and Kissinger were hawks before they made that agreement. There was the Vietnam war in 1970-71, and they still made an agreement. Hardly anyone thought that Nixon, when elected, would be the first president to make a major arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. So I don't think you should write off the possibility of President Reagan. The other advantage of President Reagan is that, if he comes to an agreement with the Soviet Union, he will get it through Congress and the treaties will be ratified. This is one of the problems with the last three treaties which have not been ratified by Congress.

ARBATOV — Frankly speaking, I envy your optimism, David. I would like to be infected with it. But I recall that Nixon had taken some steps towards change in the first or second year of his presidency while Reagan has only two years left, and time is running out. I would want to see some change here but on the whole we must be realists in this matter, albeit optimistic ones.

FALIN — I would like to emphasize another aspect which I think I detected in Mr Owen's words.

Everything depends on statesmen. Everything depends on the set of ideas with which they come to power, the set of perceptions of the other side and of the world's requirements they arrive at in the process of their stay in office. And of course much depends on what they want to accomplish, what they actually want to accomplish and not just what they say. So if we accept the viewpoint expressed by Dr Owen, I am prepared to agree that, given the will, the problems now confronting us and determining the makeup of the present-day world and the world of tomorrow, which is very important, could be solved within a very brief period of time, within several rounds of talks.

ARBATOV — Not only could be solved but, I would say, should be solved, because it will be impossible to procrastinate.

. . . . (speaking all at once)

FALIN — This is another question. Not only could but should be solved. This is the crux of the matter. Mr Bahr knows for how many decades there was barren talk about the problems of West Berlin and the amount of time it took in the end to resolve the problem.

ARBATOV — And take the example of the partial ban on nuclear tests. It took only two weeks even in the absence of the infrastructure which you mentioned.

ZORIN — I would like you to discuss several problems and for this reason I will ask a question from another field. I would like to ask you, Mr Bahr, about your attitude to Washington's doctrine of neoglobalism. It finds its application, say, in respect of Nicaragua and Grenada. Are you not worried that Washington might spread this doctrine to Europe as well?

BAHR — Oh, this is a wonderful question. First of all permit me to say that I did not come to Moscow to censure our greatest ally. In saying this I would like to note that during my stay in Washington two weeks ago I did not find any new doctrine there but discovered a struggle between those who are called "multilateralists," that is those who are looking for solutions in collective effort, together with other countries, and "unilateralists." The latter are of the opinion that since for so long talks have failed to yield results, that since the buildup of armaments throughout this period was much faster than the talks on their limitation and the problem of verification is becoming increasingly complex, it is necessary to stop all this nonsense and stop trying to achieve agreements. So, they say, let us rely instead, tacitly or openly, on something of the type of mutual restraint. Then talks, and even summit meetings, could also be used, but only for reaching understanding on the behaviour of both sides. This is what "unilateralism" stands for. I think it is an antipode of the principle of universal security, security for all. And I think it will be very dangerous if this approach becomes a doctrine in the United States. So far this has not happened. But the struggle continues.

FALIN — May I?

It is of course most pleasant to hear Egon Bahr say that the struggle still continues. However, it has several aspects, factors that we must necessarily take into account as it has been proceeding not for the first time. Even after 1945 it came to the well-known position, of which Baruch said it was not important that we were not right, it was important that we were powerful.

True, I'm not sure that the process is maturing, and it is not already reflected in certain military doctrines. Thus, the latest, newest U.S. naval doctrine to reach the public last January, incorporates the thesis that the United States is conducting a policy of brinkmanship globally. That has been set down in black and white. If that is said by the United States Navy Chief of Staff, then this struggle is more than discussion. It is already a definite line of conduct, a definite, at any rate, trend in the buildup of the armed forces that is obviously not to be treated flippantly.

Finally, we've been talking here about the place Europe occupies in these neoglobalistic concepts of the United States, whether there are not certain dangers in this connection.

Well, we know from the postwar doctrines of the United States that Europe is seen as a line of advanced defence. Yet, the question of whether this is advanced defence or not, is not only a geographical concept, not only a line where troops are stationed. Advanced defence is also a pre-emptive machine, a concept, the concept of pre-emptive strikes. This is the taking of steps, as we find in a range of United States documents for a certain period of time that have now been declassified. They state what should be done and that advantages should be exploited when the potential adversary still has no means to counter these advantages. That is also advanced defence.

So the question is a rather knotty one, having several cross sections that can be viewed both vertically and horizontally. There is no one definite answer to it. At any rate, all here in Moscow would only welcome it, were, say, the advocates of security based on cooperation to win out in Washington.

OWEN — We can all exchange documents on both sides. I can give you quotes from Soviet admirals which expand and extend the influence of the Soviet navy worldwide. I can demonstrate planning documents of the Soviet army which appear to envisage the use of nuclear weapons. I don't think we'll get very far on this for a variety of reasons. The military on both sides take a licence.

What is more important is the position of the political leadership in terms of relationships. I think there is determined relationship in terms of Europe. We may not like the division of Europe that took place after the war but, broadly speaking, it is accepted, and it is accepted that any changes that take place will be evolutionary and will not be revolutionary. We know the limitations, and that is what dominated our attitude to issues like Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

The problems arise, like Nicaragua, for example, where the United States feels it has a sphere of interest. And so it adopts policies which many people criticize, not just in the Soviet Union but also in the Third World countries and elsewhere.

But similarly you have felt that Afghanistan is a sphere of your interests, whereas we in the West and also many Third World countries feel that you intervened in Afghanistan.

I think both the United States and the Soviet Union have got to accept that there is now a third voice in world affairs, the voice of non-aligned countries, and they are very critical of U.S. policy in Nicaragua and of Soviet policy in Afghanistan. I don't think that the Third World, particularly the non-aligned world, is going to accept this doctrine of spheres of influence extending beyond the immediate confines of what obviously traditionally and historically is an area of dominant influence of the United States and the Soviet Union. I think this is the beginning of limitation on superpowers.

ARBATOV — That was just the Sannenfeld doctrine. We never subscribed to it, to the partitioning of zones of influence.

OWEN — You've been involved in Afghanistan for many years...

FALIN — But that is another matter.

OWEN — But you decided you have a position to defend and you used and are using Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Similarly, the United States takes a view—I don't share it—that they have interests in Nicaragua, and they are using other influence for destabilization in order to protect their interests, as they see them. I think we've got to be very careful about this expansion of influence. Forget the term "zones of influence," I agree it has many different meanings. But there is a limitation on the superpower influence outside certain areas. Increasingly, it is the voice of India, Africa, the Asian countries. This is important. Soviet diplomacy has to take account of this, and so has U.S. diplomacy. I think this is also important for Europe. In its relations with the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and other countries the European community is developing a slightly distinctive position, a European position. It is slow to emerge, but it is coming out, and I think therefore the world is becoming a more interesting place, because if Europe is united it will have a strong influence. I don't think any longer the world can remain divided as it is today, with the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. Both of them are finding that their powers are being limited.

(To be continued)

TAKING UP A POINT

You talk a lot about socialist self-government by the people, but I can't understand what this is all about. My guess is that what you mean is simply a return to the bourgeois system of free democratic enterprise. Am I terribly wrong?

Kurt SANDER
Dortmund, F.R.G.

Professor ANATOLY BUTENKO replies:

This is a very important question and a complex one, as well. It is a subject of heated discussions here, and a great deal depends on the outcome.

In any organized human community—be it a family, a work collective or society as a whole—management is an indispensable element essential to the preservation of its structure, its functioning, and the implementation of its programme. If the functions of management are discharged by the community itself rather than by individuals this is called self-government. Which method is more democratic and efficient and therefore preferable?

Democracy is man's greatest achievement. Evolved and enriched through the centuries, it is a method of solving vital problems facing a community which presupposes the equal rights of all the members of the community and the observance of the majority principle. In short, democracy has acquired a political character, and become a system of government. In this sense, Lenin wrote, "it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens, the equal right of all to determine the structure of, and to administer, the state." Under bourgeois democracy—exploitative society's most developed form of political democracy—state power exercised by the bourgeoisie is presented as "government by the people." This system of government has perfected the mechanism whereby the people delegates authority to its "representatives." In doing their "democratic duty," those who "express the will of the majority" are in fact acting on behalf of the exploiting minority, i.e., the bourgeoisie, which retains the real power. We have no bourgeoisie and this makes all the difference.

Long before the advent of socialist society, Marx and Engels pointed out that the overall direction of historical progress was from a society made up of class antagonisms to a society without classes and politics, from state, political management of the affairs of state to public, non-political communist self-government. It is the communist mission to facilitate this process of liberation. Marx wrote that a situation where the people are governed should be replaced by self-government by the people. As they proceed along this path, Marx and Lenin taught, the working people must make full use of democracy—bourgeois democracy in conditions of capitalism, and proletarian or socialist democracy after the revolution, when advancing towards people's self-government.

It follows from the above that self-government and democracy develop on different planes; therefore, to speak of the promotion of people's self-government in conditions of socialism being a return to bourgeois democracy is sheer nonsense.

By now the Soviet Union and some other countries have already completed the transition from capitalism to socialism. Their record shows that building a classless society involves more problems than had been expected. The elimination of exploitation of man by man and the creation of a classless socialist society do not coincide. While being free from class antagonisms and from exploitation of man by man, contemporary Soviet society still retains classes and class social relations. We cannot but take this into account.

As evidenced by the Programme adopted by the CPSU at its 27th Congress, our Party proceeds from the fact that on our way from capitalism to communism, from the state to non-political communist self-government, we cannot bypass a long socialist phase in which there is no room for the exploitation of man by man, and no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in which, therefore, government by the working class gives way to political government by the people, becoming to an ever greater extent, socialist self-government by the people.

You wonder what this self-government means.

Socialist self-government by the people is a form of government under which the working people manage practically all public affairs. Under it, the practice of delegating authority to people's representatives gradually comes to an end. Experience shows that a society with no exploiting classes but still retaining class division and political government can and must have socialist (but not yet communist) self-government by the people, which is **still** of a political nature, but is **already** a democratic system of managing state and social affairs operated by the working people themselves.

Self-government by the people is a realistic proposition, as is evidenced by the changes Soviet society is undergoing today. The work collectives are being granted ever greater prerogatives and becoming increasingly autonomous. The rights and freedoms of citizens are being further expanded. The excesses of centralism are being removed through decentralization. Local organs of power, which have the cooperation of broad sections of the working people, are coming to play an increasingly important role. All these, however, are just the first steps towards socialist self-government by the working people who, as Lenin put it, are under no power but the power of their own unity. ■

See You in Seattle

The experience gained in Moscow will inevitably be useful in preparing for the next Goodwill Games in Seattle, in the U.S., four years from now, said Robert M. Walsh, executive director of the 1990 Games Organizing Committee.

Mr Walsh also said that Seattle folk were very keen to have the next Goodwill Games in their city. Indeed, the Organizing Committee had already received some 2,500 offers from would-be volunteer helpers. The city, he noted, had a fine network of sports venues, which were compactly located and linked by good roads. True, there was no swimming pool as yet, but it would be ready, he said, by 1990. In fact, the organizers also plan to incorporate into the programme equestrian sports, chess, ice hockey, synchronized swimming, and as a demonstration event a game that is typically American—baseball. Mr Walsh said the opening gala would probably be devoted to aquatic sports and take place at the university seaside stadium which seats 72,000. He emphasized that the Games would retain the motto "From Friendship in Sports to Peace in the World."

The first ever Goodwill Games in the history of world sport, which are to become traditional, have ended in Moscow, Tallinn, and Jurmala.

The high sporting standard no longer gives rise to doubt, though earlier there had been sceptics. No wonder, as in this day and age, with its plethora of planned major international competitions, it is hard to make room for so stupendous and comprehensive a sports gala. Indeed, the July Games in Moscow coincided, or almost coincided, with such major events as the Central American Games, the Commonwealth Games, and world championships in individual sports. Though, as was to be expected, some leading athletes preferred to gird themselves for these competitions, most of the stars in the world of sport attended the Goodwill Games.

Thus, the participation of such champions as Carl Lewis, Edwin Moses, and Evelyn Ashford from the U.S., Zhu Jianhua of the People's Republic of China and Heike Drechsler from the G.D.R., let alone a first-rate Soviet team for all 18 events in the programme, made the Games an exciting and memorable event.

It is plainly worthwhile to recall the fact that the U.S. TBS TV company and the U.S.S.R. State committees on Sports and on Radio and Television, who co-sponsored the Games, had originally conceived them as a contest between Soviet and American athletes, as they had not met in all-round competitions since 1976. As will be remembered, the Americans did not turn up for the Moscow Olympics in 1980, while their Soviet counterparts had to miss the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984. But the noble idea behind the Goodwill Games as expounded in the motto, "From Friendship in Sports to Peace in the World," evoked such a lively response around the world, that it was decided to include participants from other countries as well.

Invitations were extended to 55 national sporting associations. However, athletes from as many as eighty countries came. Had that happened at an Olympics, the latecomers would have remained tourists, no more. For good reason do the Goodwill Games have their name, and not one athlete was denied entry, no matter how late he arrived. Small wonder that the world news media qualified these competitions as the sporting contribution to 1986, which the U.N. has proclaimed the International Year of Peace.

The unplanned arrival of so many track-and-field athletes caused organizational difficulties. Thus, several finals had to be held instead of the single one that had been planned. At times the list of participants was known only a few minutes before the start of the event, which naturally created problems. However, eventually everything was sorted out.

The Games have their ill-wishers. Before they began, the Western media claimed that the organizers viewed them as an alternative to the Olympics. This is nonsense for the simple reason that the Games come midway in the Olympic cycle and will only help world athletes, both those of champion standing and hopefuls, better to prepare for the next Olympics. The Games even serve to popularize the Olympic ideal.

Some grumbled that the Moscow Games would be between the two sporting superpowers, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., leaving athletes from other countries out in the cold. How was it, then, that the Nigerian Tchidi Imot outstripped the legendary Carl Lewis, who was placed only third in the 100-metre sprint? Or that the French volleyballers, with no great reputation hitherto, suddenly put on a marvellous display at Luzhniki? Or take the numerous national records broken in swimming, track-and-field events and cycling. Finally, one could mention the fact that yachtsmen from several developing African countries made a very fair showing at their first-ever regatta in Tallinn.

Whatever the critics may say, the Games are certainly a highlight in the world sporting calendar, even if only for the prowess of the participants and the records made. These include such fantastic achievements as Soviet pole-vaulting champion Sergei Bubka's 6.01 metre world record and American girl athlete Jackie Joyner's score of 7,148 points in the seven track-and-field events, which makes her the first to cross the 7,000 point limit. However, not only sporting prowess should be mentioned. The great contribution the Games made to the effort for peace cannot be ignored.

In the conversations that Mikhail Gorbachev had with TBS proprietor Ted Turner it was underscored that at times crucial for peace it was highly important to have various initiatives promoting understanding and confidence and serving to allay suspicions and tensions in relations between nations and states. The Goodwill Games are just such an initiative.

A. SREBNITSKY

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An anti-war youth demonstration.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

An Easter peace march.

Photos by Hans MEISTER (F.R.G.)